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NIMROD THE ASTRONOMER

LI CUMPOZ of Philippe de Thaon,¹ written in 1119 and important as the earliest monument of Anglo-Norman literature, possesses a special interest for the student of astronomy and chronology as being at once the earliest treatment of the subject in French and one of the latest expositions of the knowledge current in the period just preceding the advent of Arabic astronomy. Of the authorities whom the author cites,² three, Bede, Helperic, and Gerland, are the standard writers on these subjects in the earlier Middle Ages, and the citations are sufficiently specific to render easy a comparison with their works. A fourth, Turkils, though unknown to students of *Li Cumpoz*, is plainly to be identified with Turchillus compotista, an Anglo-Norman contemporary of Philip who wrote before 1117 a treatise on the abacus which is of much interest for the early history of the English Exchequer;³ but the quotations are not from this work and are evidently derived from a treatise on chronological computation, consisting of at least three books, which has not yet come to light.⁴ There remains a fifth, called

¹ E. Mall, *Li Cumpoz Philippe de Thaün mit einer Einleitung* (Strassburg, 1873); T. Wright, *Popular Treatises on Science* (London, 1841), pp. 20-73; Paul Meyer, *Fragment du Comput de Philippe de Thaon, in Romania* (1911), XL, 70-76. Cf. Ch. V. Langlois, *La connaissance de la nature et du monde au moyen âge* (Paris, 1911), pp. 2-3, 11.

² Incomplete list in Meyer, p. 72.

³ Ed. Narducci, in *Bullettino di Bibliografia e di Storia delle Scienze Matematiche* (1882), XV, 111-54. See Haskins, *The Abacus and the King's Curia*, in *English Historical Review* (1912), XXVII, 101-6; R. L. Poole, *The Exchequer in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1912), pp. 48-50.

⁴ G. L. Hamilton, who first suggested the identity of Turkils and Turchillus (ROMANIC REVIEW (1912), III, 314), made the mistake of thinking that Philip

Nebrot, Nebrod, Nebroz, Nembroz, or Nembroth, likewise unidentified by the commentators on Philip, who raises a number of interesting problems. Of the five passages in which he appears the first, at the close of the chapter dealing with Aries, reads:

1249 E ço Helperis dit
Pur veir en sun escrit
E Bede e Gerlanz
E Nebroz, li vaillanz.

At the close of the account of Leo, speaking of the significance of the lion's tail, Philip says:

1345 E ço truvum escrit
Que dans Nebroz le dit.

In the discussion *De saltu lune* we find:

2359 De ço trai a guarant
Maistre Bede e Gerlant,
Turkil e Helperi
E Nebrot, ki eissi
L'unt enquis e guardet.

Apropos of lunations he says:

2495 Ço dit Bede e Gerlanz
E Nebroz, li vaillanz,
E Helperis le dit,
Turkils en sun escrit,
E ens el quart chapitle
Que il fait del tierz livre.

Finally concerning the septuagesimal term:

3341 Eissi cum Gerlanz dit,
Nebroz en sun escrit.

To Philip, accordingly, Nebroz is an authority on astronomical and chronological matters of the same type as Bede, Helperic, Ger- cites the treatise on the abacus, which contains nothing on the subjects treated in *Li cumpos*. That the work of Thurkil here cited comprised at least three books is clear from ll. 2399 and 2500.

land, and Thurkil. No writer of this name, however, is known to have existed in the Middle Ages, and the form suggests at once the Νεβρώθ of the Septuagint and the Nimrod of modern versions of Genesis, whose name has furnished a fruitful field for the speculations and conjectures of orientalists.⁵ The Biblical Nimrod is, of course, no humble chronologer but a king, a mighty one upon the earth, a mighty hunter before the Lord. How can we make an astronomer out of him? An answer to this question would involve studies of the Oriental Nimrod legends which lie beyond the purpose of this article. An astronomer he had certainly become in men's minds by the sixth century, when Malalas makes him king of the Persians and their master in astronomy and astrology,⁶ and an astronomer he remained to the men of the Middle Ages. Astronomical tables under his name are known to have been current in Arabic, and his astronomy meets us in the twelfth century, when Philip's contemporary, Hugh of St. Victor, says, *Aiunt quidam Nemrod gigantem summum fuisse astrologum, sub cuius nomine etiam astronomia invenitur*. He is bracketed with Hyginus and Aratus by Honorius of Autun,⁷ probably also a contemporary of Philip, and in the following century the *Speculum Astronomie* says:⁸

Ex libris ergo qui post libros geometricos et arithmeticos invenitur apud nos scripti super his, primus tempore compositionis est liber quem edidit Nemroth gigas ad Iohathonem discipulum suum, qui sic incipit: *Sphera celi*, etc., in quo est parum proficui et falsitates nonnullae; sed nihil est ibi contra fidem, quod sciam.

⁵ See Cheyne's article in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* and the authors there cited.

⁶ *Chronographia* (ed. Bonn), p. 17: Περὶ τὴν ἐπρώτην διδῶναι αὐτοῦ ἀστρονομίας καὶ ἀστρολογίας, τῇ οὐρανίῳ κινήσει τὰ περὶ τοῦ τακτομένου πάντα θεῶν σημεῖα. Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, XVI, 4, 10, 11, knows Nimrod only as the founder of Babylon. So also Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum*, I, 6; *De cursu stellarum*, c. 3 (ed. Arndt-Krusch, pp. 36, 858).

⁷ Steinschneider, *Zum Speculum astronomicum des Albertus Magnus*, in *Zeitschrift für Mathematik und Physik* (1871), XVI, 380; id., *Die europäischen Uebersetzungen aus dem Arabischen*, in *Vienna Sitzungsberichte phil.-hist. Kl.* (1905), CLI, 43. The passage in Honorius of Autun will be found in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CLXXII, 59.

⁸ Alberti Magni Opera (Paris, 1891), X, p. 629; critical edition of this passage in *Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum*, V, p. 86; full commentary by Steinschneider, *loc. cit.* The *Speculum* has been generally attributed to Albertus Magnus, but a strong argument for Roger Bacon has been made by Mandonnet, in *Revue néo-scholastique* (1910), XVII, 313-35.

Contrary to Cumont's opinion,⁹ the work of Nimrod the giant is, in its mediaeval form, still extant, in two manuscripts neither of which appears to have been examined in this connection. One, MS. Lat. VIII 22 of the library of St. Mark's at Venice,¹⁰ has the *incipit* cited in the *Speculum astronomie*; the other, MS. Pal. Lat. 1417 of the Vatican,¹¹ has a different beginning, but agrees in the body of the treatise. The correspondence between the two is close throughout the first part of the work; in the latter part the Venetian MS. has a fuller treatment of the planets and constellations but lacks the meteorological chapters with which the other concludes. I do not find in either the fable of Taurus mentioned by Honorius of Autun or the account of Leo for which Philippe de Thaon cites Nebroz as his source in the only instance where he seems to be directly followed.¹² Evidently there are problems here which require further manuscript evidence.¹³

Both MSS. have, evidently as part of the original text, numerous figures, of which the most notable are the series of constellations in the Venetian codex. At the beginning of the treatise an

⁹ *Catalogus codicum astrologorum*, V, p. 86 n.

¹⁰ *Classis XI, Cod. 73*; Valentinelli, *Bibliotheca manuscripta ad S. Marci Venetiarum*, IV, p. 255. The MS. is clearly of the thirteenth century, not as the catalogue says of the fifteenth. The treatise extends from f. 1 to the middle of f. 36, where it ends abruptly after the description of Anticanus. The text begins: *Spera celi quater senis horis dum revolvitur omnes stelle fixe celo quem (sic) cum ea ambiunt circa axem breviores circulos efficiunt. Igitur que polo apparet vicinior inter omnes, tam ei splendor est precipuus, ipsa noctium hor[arum?] computatrix dicitur argumentum eminientum (sic) cardini oppositum. Recta linea si serves luminum intuitu horas noctis nosse potes galli sine vocibus. Then after a figure of a man observing the pole, Incipit liber de astronomia. De forma celi et quomodo decurrit inclinatum. Celum igitur inclinatum. . .*

¹¹ The treatise occupies the nineteen folii of the MS., which is written in a clear hand of the twelfth century, with the headings in red. It bears the title in a modern hand, "*Ptolomei tractatus ad sciendum horas dierum ac noctis.*" The introductory matter was evidently lacking in the fifteenth century, when the contents of the volume were thus given at the bottom of f. 1: *Libellus pulcher Besde de situ et dispositione stellarum et signorum celi; libellus seu tractatus Ptolomei regis ad sciendum horas diei et noctis; tractatus de distributione climatum mundi et de terminis septem climatum.*

¹² Lines 1315-1346. Some of these lines reappear in the description of the lion in Philip's *Bestiaire*, ed. Walberg, lines 25 ff.

¹³ MS. Ashmole 191, f. 46, of the Bodleian contains only a brief extract from the "*Liber responsionum magistri Nemroth ad discipulum Ioaton*", beginning, *Dico enim quod de oriente. . .*

interesting drawing, much better in the Vatican MS., represents side by side the two kings, Atlas and Nimrod, whom classical and oriental tradition respectively makes the founders of astronomy. Atlas is depicted standing on the Pyrenees and bearing on his shoulders the firmament with its stars, while Nimrod stands on the mountain of the Amorites and looks upward while he supports in his hands the heavens without stars. The inscriptions read: *Athlas magnus astrologus rex Ispanensium vegens humeris suis celum inclinatum cum stellis. Nemroth inspector celorum ac rex Caldeorum vegens manibus celum inclinatum sine stellis.* Probably a paragraph on the preceding page, now lost, of the Vatican MS. explained Nimrod, as a quotation from St. Augustine at the top of this page explains Atlas.¹⁴ The work proper then begins in both MSS.:

De forma¹⁵ celi et quomodo decurrit inclinatum.

Celum igitur inclinatum volvitur a meridiano usque in septentrionem super terram et de septentrione ad meridianum sub terram et in rotunditatem suam volvens sese inclinatum et quasi¹⁶ eversum¹⁷ videtur, directum¹⁸ per preceptionem creatoris creature. Ut homo opifex bonus¹⁹ instruens palatium, qui primum mensurat locum et fodit fundamentum et edificat ordinabiliter illud donec adimpleatur²⁰ edificium suum, ita et Nemroth mensuravit omnem causam celi per suum intellectum et posuit fundamentum super quod edificavit ordinem numeri per capitula superius denominata et²¹ dum perlegisset eadem semper in melius construxit. Et omnia ista capitula se invicem condecorant ut bonus opifex qui edificium suum ordinanter disponit. Primo in edificio fit²² fundamentum in²³ terra et primo capitulo expositio minima celo verso sine stellis et post hec apparebit numerus.

ii. *De una virtute qua dicit Nemroth quia²⁴ sustinet celum*

Et dum recordaretur Nemroth formam celi cognovit quod habuisset creatorem non agnoscens^{24a} quis esset. Et vidit celum volvens in semetipsum²⁵ non exiens de loco suo et agnovit quod non habuisset²⁶ de subter²⁷ quod illud impedisset nec desuper per quod suspenderetur, et in hoc non potuit dicere aliud nisi quod²⁸ virtus sit que hoc

¹⁴ *De civitate Dei*, XVIII, c. 39 (ed. Hoffmann, II, 330).

¹⁵ *Vat.* fortitudine.—¹⁶ *Ven.* quod = *Vat.* om.—¹⁷ *Vat.* reversum.—¹⁸ *Vat.* directum est per preceptum creatoris opifex.—¹⁹ *Ven.* bonum.—²⁰ *Vat.* adimpleat.—²¹ *Vat.* omits et . . . construxit.—²² *Vat.* sit.—²³ *Vat.* om.—²⁴ *Vat.* que.—^{24a} *Vat.* sed non cognovit.—²⁵ *Vat.* semetipso.—²⁶ *Vat.* erat.—²⁷ *Vat.* subter.—²⁸ *Vat.* quia.

sustinet. Et eam nominavit²⁹ fortitudinem sustinentem celum et stantem sub nullo, ut admiranda sit scientia Nemroth quod mensurasset formam celi et cognovit cursus³⁰ signorum et circulos stellarum et fundamentum terre et non agnovit quod Deus creasset eam. Sed et hoc³¹ cognovit quod²⁸ desuper creatura fortis et dominatrix sit et nominavit eam creatorem, et depinxit et scripsit omnia secundum similitudinem suam, ita ut qui tunc fuerunt voluerunt illum habere ut deum propter suam virtutem et scientiam, dicente illo occulta in compoto astronomie. Et cognovit Nemroth quod²⁸ celum fuisset purum et post hoc factus est sol et luna et omnes stelle celi.³²

Chapters follow *De .iiii^{or}. ventis*; *De duabus fortitudinibus*, *De .xii. fortitudinibus*, *De .vii. fortitudinibus*, varied by the insertion, without credit, of the chapters on earthquakes and Etna from Bede's *De naturis rerum*.³³ The more specifically astronomical part of the work then begins with a brief account of the *axis celi* and the zodiac, succeeded by chapters on the planets, the Pleiads, the sun and its eclipses, and the moon and its eclipses. In the midst of the account of the moon there is evidently a lacuna in the Vatican MS.³⁴ where the Venetian MS. takes up the several planets and their motions. Both then agree in the portions treating of the hours of the day, epacts, concurrents, and days of the week, after which they finally diverge. The Venetian codex devotes the remaining ten pages to a description of the constellations, to the number of forty-three, accompanied by drawings which should have interest for the student of mediaeval astronomy.³⁵ None of these are found in the Vatican MS., which proceeds to consider the nature of clouds, thunder, lightning, and the rainbow. Save for the quotations from Bede and the section on the constellations, both MSS. maintain throughout the form of a dialogue between Nimrod and Ioathon, who first appears in the fifth chapter. There is very little that could be called

²⁹ *Vat.* nominavit eam.—³⁰ *Ven.* cursum.—³¹ *Ven.* om.—³² *Vat.* omits celi.

³³ Cc. 49, 50 (*Migne, Patrologia*, XC, 275-278). C. 51, "Divisio terre", also appears on f. 8 of the Vatican MS.

³⁴ F. 12, where the heading, *De luna .i. usque in .xv. quot punctos luceat donec veniat in potestate noctis*, does not correspond to the text, which assumes a preceding discussion of the planets.

³⁵ This part of the text begins with the typical description (f. 31v): *Helix, Arctus malorum, habet autem in capite stellas obscuras vii., in spatula .i., super pectus .i., in pede .i., in dorso .i., in tibia interiore .ii., super cauda .iii., sunt omnes .xvi.* The treatment is quite different from that of Hyginus.

astrological, although the concluding chapter, found only in the Vatican MS., seems to presuppose such a treatment:

Quod interrogavit Ioathon magistrum suum et non dedit ei responsum.

Et postquam exposuit Nemroth Ioathon discipulo suo quid sit arcus pacis vel unde est, interrogavit eum dicens, Magister, cognovi quod exposuisti mihi quid sit arcus pacis vel unde fit. Tunc pre-venit eum infirmitas mortalis et dum vidisset Ioathon magistrum suum Nemroth quia moreretur, venit et cecidit ad pedes eius dicens, Magister, nimis tristis effectus sum quia dum habui patrem efficior orphanus et post divitias multas nunc veniet michi paupertas et post virtutem quam habui ero debilis. Respondit Nemroth dicens, Ioathon, fortasse non erit ita ut putas. Respondit Ioathon dicens, Magister utique ita erit. Numquid quod a te didici non est veritas? Et si verus est compotus quem ostendisti mihi pro infirmo, ipse significavit mihi mortem meam. Ait illi Nemroth, Ioathon, omnia que docui te vera sunt et compotus qui est super infirmum non erit tibi in aliquo error. Ego autem vadam ad patres meos et tu venies postea et ego ad te non revertar, quia ita hoc est quod nemo potest transgredi; et si habes aliquid ad interrogandum unde tibi cure sit interroga velociter antequam inebreetur anima de potu calicis mortis et antequam colligatur lingua et quietudine cursus sanguinis tollatur sensus per fortitudinem magni pavoris cum victus exieris de termino vite ad potestatem mortis. Respondit Ioathon dicens, Magister bone, de omnibus que ostendisti mihi aliquid cognovi, de vento autem aperte non exposuisti michi. . . . Usque huc interrogavit Ioathon Nemroth magistrum suum et non dedit illi responsum et dum interrogat de vento insufflavit in eum ventus mortis et non respondit ei ullum verbum et dimisit doctrinam suam aliis.

It is plain, merely from the extracts here given, that the author of the treatise does not speak in the name of Nimrod but bases his work upon a dialogue between Nimrod and Ioathon which he supplements and modifies. He refers to *alii doctores qui fuerunt post Nemroth*,³⁶ and in two passages cites a certain Alexander.³⁷ The

³⁶ Et alii doctores qui fuerunt post Nemroth et Ioathon exposuerunt obscuritatem que apparet in luna. Nos autem modo exponimus subterius in loco oportuno. Vat. MS., f. 6v.

³⁷ *Ib.*, f. 2v: Nam quod ipse dixit quia discurrunt inter signa disposuit Alexander dicens quia iste fortitudines quas ait ipse Nemroth ipse sunt quas exposuit superius. F. 10 (= MS. Venice, f. 12v): *In quo signo currit luna ut exposuit Alexander.* Exposuimus superius in quo signo currat luna, nunc

Oriental touch is apparent, but there is no trace of Arabic terms or of the Arabic astronomy, so that the work is plainly anterior to the introduction of Saracen learning into Latin Europe. Words like *planetes* and *sinodus* and the passage (gloss?) on the Pleiads³⁸ show a certain amount of Greek influence,³⁹ but the style is not that of a direct translation, and the quotations from Augustine and Bede show that the matter was worked over in the West.

The dialogue bears clear traces of Syrian origin, for the disciple Ioathon or Ioanton⁴⁰ can be none other than the fourth son of Noah who appears as Ionton, Ionaton, Ionites, Ἰώνητος, Τιώνητος, Μονήτων, and Munt in Christian writers of the Middle Ages. Unknown to the Hebrew tradition, he is found in works of Syrian origin and in these only,⁴¹ and is there brought into direct relation to Nimrod. Thus in the *Cave of Treasure*, which is probably of the sixth century, Ionton is visited by Nimrod in the land of Nod and teaches him that wisdom and learning of the stars which the Persian call the oracle and the Romans astronomy.⁴² Similar and apparently related is the account which appears toward the close of the seventh century in the *Apocalypse* of the Pseudo-Methodius,⁴³ where we read that Noah sent his son Ionitus to the east, to the ostende mihi sicut Alexander exposuit qui mensuravit et coequavit numero astronomie.

³⁸ MS. Vat., f. 10v: Pliades vii stelle splendide que post vere exoriuntur vel Pliades a pluralitate dicte, quia pluralitatem latine grece *apolpoeton* (ἀπό πλεων?) dicitur. Pliades sunt multi vage stelle quas etiam Botrum appellant. Pliades vii fuerunt quorum nomina sunt Terope, Meropios, Cilenos, Maia, Altione, Tagete, Electra. Dicte autem pliades *apo tu plectos* (cf. Isidore, *Etymologiae*, III, 70, 13: ἀπό τοῦ πλέκτον), id est a pluralitate, sive a pluvia vel a mare, ut sint filie Athlantis et Pliadis.

³⁹ The accounts of the constellations in the Venetian MS., though based upon the Greek catalogues, are not directly translated. E. g. (f. 33v), equus qui et bellorum fons (i. e., Bellerophon); navis que apud Argivos Argo vocatur (f. 35).

⁴⁰ The *Catalogus codicum astrologicorum*, V, p. 86, cannot identify him.

⁴¹ So Sackur, who has collected the material relating to him in his *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen* (Halle, 1898), p. 15, 54, 64.

⁴² Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle* (Leipzig, 1883-88), I, p. 33 f. and notes.

⁴³ A critical edition of the Greek text, with studies of Latin and Slavic versions, is given by Istrin, *Otkrovenie Methodiya Patarskogo* in the *Čteniya* of the Historical and Archæological Society of the University of Moscow, 1897, parts 2 and 4. The Latin version is edited by Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte*, p. 59-96.

land of the sea and the sunrise, where God granted him the gift of wisdom so that he became the discoverer of astronomy and the teacher of Nimrod. Their relations continued friendly, and Ionitus wrote a letter to Nimrod prophesying the destruction of the dominion of the sons of Ham.⁴⁴ The astronomical attainments of Ionithon are described in greater detail in a third and considerably later Syrian source, the so-called *Causa causarum*,⁴⁵ but it was through the Pseudo-Methodius that he passed into the West and found mention in a number of chroniclers and other writers of the Middle Ages.⁴⁶ In all these sources Ionitus is the master and Nimrod the pupil, but the reversal of the relation might easily arise under the influence of the tradition which we find in Malalas and others that Nimrod was the founder of astronomy.

As regards the date of Nimrod and Ioathon our text stands in general agreement with the chronology of the Pseudo-Methodius, who mentions Ionites in A.M. 2799 and Nimrod in 3008:

Et ab initio seculi usque ad tempus Nemroth fortissimi et Ioanton discipuli sui in quo anno circumvixit Mercurius per omnia signa circulum .i., qui sunt .xxii. circuli et anni .iii. clxxxiii. et ab ipso anno usque ad finem mundi currit.⁴⁷

This is the only indication on this point, and unfortunately the similar cycles given for each planet⁴⁸ throw no light on the date of the treatise itself, the years being in each case carried out to the close of the cycle next preceding A.M. 7000, doubtless on the theory

⁴⁴ Οἱ οὗτοι δὲ ὁ Μωϋσῆων (al. 'Ιωήνης, 'Ιώνηος) ἔλαβε παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ χάρισμα σοφίας, ὥστε πρῶτος ἀστρονομίας τέχνην ἐφεύρε. Πρὸς τοῦτον κατήλθε Νεβρώδ καὶ παιδευθεὶς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἔλθοι βουλὴν ἐφ' ᾧ βασιλεῦσαι αὐτόν. Istrin, text, p. 9 f.; cf. pp. 52, 77, and Sackur, p. 63 f.

⁴⁵ Kayser, *Das Buch von der Erkenntniss der Wahrheit* (Strassburg, 1893), p. 259 f.

⁴⁶ To the passages collected by Sackur, p. 64, should be added the *Summa philosophie* of Grosseteste, in Baur, *Die philosophischen Werke des Robert Grosseteste* (Münster, 1912), p. 275; and the Slavic material collected by Istrin and by Veselovsky in the *Russische Revue* VII, 130 ff. (= no. 10 of his *Razyskaniya*).

⁴⁷ MS. d'rt, apparently corrupted from c'rit, which appears constantly in this part of the text.

⁴⁸ MS. Venice, ff. 17-19v. Mars is carried to the year 6990, Mercury to 6936, Jupiter to 6912, Venus to 6922, and Saturn to 6800. The text of the numbers is quite corrupt.

which we find in the Pseudo-Methodius, that the end of the world will coincide with the close of the seventh millenary period. The same theory appears in the table of solar eclipses,⁴⁹ which is carried to the year 6995:

Si vis scire in quo anno fit eclipsis, sume annos ab origine mundi, scito quot sunt, et subtrahe ex ipsis vi cc xc viiii, et quot remanent divide eos per decem et novem, et sicut scriptum est in rota ita invenies eclipsis solis in tempore ipsius.

There follows a table, but no *rota*, beginning, *In vi anno non erit eclipsis, in xiiii anno erit eclipsis*, and so on at intervals of twenty-four years to *in dcxcvi anno erit eclipsis*. Here, however, the year 6299 is evidently chosen because it is the date of writing or at least of the beginning of the current nineteen-year period, which would bring the treatise between A.D. 791 and 810 according to the Byzantine era or between 807 and 826 according to the era of Antioch. With the ninth century the style and manner of treatment in general correspond. The home of the work should probably be sought in Gaul, where throughout the early Middle Ages relations were maintained with Syria⁵⁰ which have left literary monuments in the Latin version of the Pseudo-Methodius and in the translation of the legend of the Seven Sleepers by Gregory of Tours.

The various astronomical questions involved in Nimrod's treatise I cannot pretend to discuss, still less can I enter into the problem of its sources and its affinities with other works. My purpose has been merely to bring to light an unused source for the study of Byzantine and Syrian astronomy and for the astronomical and cosmological ideas current in western Europe in the early Middle Ages.

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⁴⁹ MS. Vat., f. 9; MS. Venice, f. iiv.

⁵⁰ See particularly Scheffer-Boichorst, *Zur Geschichte der Syrer im Abendlande*, in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* (1885), VI, 535 ff.

STORM-MAKING SPRINGS: RINGS OF INVISIBILITY
AND PROTECTION.—STUDIES ON THE SOURCES
OF THE YVAIN OF CHRÉTIEN DE TROIES

(SECOND ARTICLE)¹

CLOSELY connected with the belief in storm-making bodies of water, which is so widely attested, is the belief in the efficacy of certain magical rites performed with water, and causing atmospheric disturbances, generally to the detriment of others. The virtue of the water is no longer due to its specific nature; the water is simply a vehicle of sympathetic action. In logical language it is no longer the efficient, but the material cause of the phenomenon. These rites are quite distinct from mimetic magical performances, used to obtain rain. We find in a story collected among the Fox Indians of Iowa, a branch of the Algonkin stock, a magician, who by dipping the skin of a certain small animal, which possessed magic virtues, under the water and skimming it along, brought on a wind, under cover of which he and his friends escaped from their enemies.² In a Ten'a tale, collected in Alaska, a woman, to escape her pursuer, stroked the tops of the long marsh-grass, growing through the ice in a lake she was crossing, to bring on wind and snow to cover her tracks.³ Among the Guanches, the former inhabitants of the

¹ Cf. *Romanic Review*, II, 355-373. Some of my references are *loci classici*, which have been used by various scholars for three hundred years. But from my own reading I have been able to add my quota to the material of which the most extensive collections are to be found in the recent studies on the same general subject of F. F. v. Andrian, "Ueber Wetterzauberei," *Mittheilungen der Anthropolog. Gesellschaft in Wien*, XXIV (1894) and Sir J. G. Frazer's *Golden Bough*, 3d ed. Part I, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, I (1911), 244-331, and I approach the subject from a somewhat different point of view.

² W. Jones, *Fox Texts* (Publ. of the American Ethnological Soc., I) II, 13, cf. 10, n.

³ J. Jetté, "On Ten'a Folk-lore", *Journ. of the Roy. Anthropol. Inst.* XXXVIII (1908), 303. The translator in his elaborated version of the tale (331) understands that the wind is charmed up to drift the snow over the tracks, an unnecessary interpretation, in the light of the Fox tale, and a Navajo snow-charm I shall have occasion to cite.

Canary Islands, the members of a community of nuns^{3a} played an important part in a ceremony which took place on occasions of public calamities, such as a drought. Accompanied by the population^{3b} or alone,^{3c} they went to the sea-shore, where they beat the waters with rods, raising loud cries to attract the attention of the god,^{3d} responsible for the condition of affairs, so he would correct them. The people of North Usegúhu, in Central Africa, regularly in a drought, sent for a rain-maker to the neighboring people of Usambara. He conjured up rain-clouds by stirring up water in a hole in a threshing-floor at the entrance of the village.⁴

Like this primitive African tribe, and many other races,⁵ the Greeks and Romans attributed wonderful powers to the priests and magicians of distant and, in their opinion, inferior peoples.⁶ Thus the ill-famed Telchines⁷ of Rhodes were credited with the power of stirring up storms, and causing rain and snow to fall, according to Diodorus Siculus.⁸ Herodotus⁹ tells how after a storm had destroyed some of the ships of Xerxes's fleet, the Magi used spells

^{3a} The passages respecting this order have been collected by R. Basset, "Recherches sur la religion des Berbères," *Rev. de l'Hist. des Religions*, LXI, 321.

^{3b} According to the statement of Glas who does not specify drought (*History of the Canary Islands*, in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, XVI, 819).

^{3c} Bérenger-Féraud, *Superstitions et Survivances*, I, 473; Basset, *loc. cit.*

^{3d} As in another rain ceremony, enacted by the nuns (Viana, *Antigüedades de las Islas Afortunadas*, Tübingen, 1883, 24; Markham, *The Guanches of Teneriffe*, 29-30), in which the new-born children and animals were separated from their parents, that their prayers might move the divine powers to pity, a cause for similar ceremonies (Frazer, *op. cit.*, 287-9; D. Kidd, *The Essential Kaffir*, 42; J. Teit, "The Shuswap," *Mem. of the Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist., The Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, II, 681; *Journ. of American Folklore*, XXV, 298, cf. 302), the conjecture that the beating of the water was to punish the rain-god for his niggardliness, seems beside the mark.

⁴ F. Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin Pascha im Herzen von Africa*, 24.

⁵ Tylor, *Primitive Culture* (N. Y., 1883), I, 113-115; G. L. Gomme, *Ethnology in Folklore*, 42-48; *Folklore as an Historical Science*, 199, 346 ff.; Harnack, *Medicinisches aus der ältesten Kirchengeschichte*, 7; H. Gering, *Über Weissagung und zauber in nord. altertum*, 11; V. Henry, *La magie dans l'Inde antique*, 141, 160; Haddon, *Head-Hunters*, 249-250.

⁶ H. Hubert, in Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq.*, s. v. Magie, III, 2, 1497-9, 1500, 1509.

⁷ Cf. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, 1181-1210; F. G. Welcker, *Kleine Schriften*, III, 62.

⁸ V, 55.

⁹ VII, 191. On the difficulties of the interpretation of the passage "καταελδορρες γῆνοι οἱ Μάγοι τῷ ἀνέμῳ" cf. Macan, and How and Wells, *ad. loc.*

to calm the winds. The priestesses of Sena, an island off the western coast of France, could rouse up the seas and winds by the use of incantations, if we accept the account of Pomponius Mela.¹⁰ Apollonius of Tyana and his biographer Damis,¹¹ during their travels in India, saw two jars made of black stone, of which one contained rain-storms, the other winds. If India was troubled with a drought, there arose from the former, when opened, clouds which watered the whole land, but if there was too much rain, it was only necessary to shut the jar tight, in order to bring relief. But the jar of the winds—which Philostratus compares to the bag of Aeolus in its action—when opened sent out one of the winds to blow whenever and wherever the land was suffering for need of it.¹² It was a friendly native who showed the use of certain incantations and magical rites to induce rain which brought relief to the thirsty Roman army, when it was fighting in Mauretania in the reign of Claudius.¹³ According to one story it was an Egyptian magician Arnulphis, according to another, a Chaldaean¹⁴ Julian, who brought rain to the suffering Romans, while a violent hail-storm, and lightning, threw into confusion and destroyed part of the opposing army,

¹⁰ III, 48. S. Reinach's opinion that this passage of Mela is taken from a Greek geographical romance (*Rev. celt.*, XVIII [1897] 1 ff.; *Cultes, mythes et religions*, I, 195 ff.) is not accepted by C. Jullian, *Rev. des études anc.*, VI [1904], 258, n. 2. Cf. also G. L. Gomme, *Ethnology in Folklore*, 49, 101-2; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3d ed., Part I, v. II, 241, n. 1; *Rom. Rev.*, II, 270-1.

¹¹ Philostratus's source was the forged memoirs of Damis, who claimed to have been Apollonius's travelling companion (I, 3, p. 3, 28). The phrase of Philostratus *ἐμπάρεται φασί* renders a statement made in the first person plural in the original. Cf. E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 35-37.

¹² III, 14, p. 92, 30. Eusebius in his *Contra Hieroclem* has noted and held up to scorn this account of "*ἄπορράς τε καὶ ἀνέμους ἐν πύλοις*," capp. 18, 22, P. G. XXII, 824, 830. But then Eusebius as an orthodox Christian believed that demons inhabited the air (*Demonstr. evang.*, III, 7, 39, ed. *GrChrSchr.* 147, 5).

¹³ Dio Cassius, LX, 9. On the rain-making tomb of Antaeus in Mauretania cf. *R. R.* II, 372, n. 1; Basset, *art. cit.*, 316. The inhabitants of Media, on the advice of Ayesha, the widow of Mohammed, opened the prophet's tomb, so that it would be brought into direct connection with the angry heaven, which withheld the rain. As a result heavy rains fell at once (I. Goldziher, *Mohammedische Studien*, II, 313; on the Arab wish that rain fall on graves cf. Goldziher, *Arch. f. Religionsw.*, XIII, 20 ff.).

¹⁴ On "Chaldaeus" as a general term for a magician cf. Abt, *Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madaura und die antike Zauberei*, 330-1.

in the famous battle against the Quadi in 173/4,¹⁵ during the reign of Marcus Aurelius.¹⁶

But Greece did not lack its own wonder-workers.¹⁷ The Agrigentine Empedocles, in a passage of his philosophic poem *De natura*, which has been preserved to us, promises his disciple that he will teach him to curb and bring on winds at his wish, and call up and dismiss the rain at his pleasure.¹⁸ These verses may have been the cause of the wonderful feats¹⁹ attributed to him, and the names given him; *κωλυσανέμας* (μουν)²⁰ and *Ἀλεξανέμας*.²¹ He hung up asses' skins on the surrounding hill-tops, which drove away a destructive north wind, that, according to one story,²² was injuring the

¹⁵ Dio Cassius, LXXI, 8; Suidas, s. v. Arnuphis: Julianus; Claudian, *de VI Consol. Honor.* 340-6. This is the miracle attributed by Christian writers to the non-existent Christian "Thundering Legion", which has recently once more called out much discussion; cf. Petersen, *Mith. d. röm. Inst.* IX (1894), 78 ff.; Harnack, *Sitz. d. Berl. Ak.*, 1894, 835 ff.; Domaszewski, *Rh. M.*, XLIX (1894) 612 ff.; Mommsen, *Hermes*, XXX (1895) 90 ff.; Petersen, *Rh. M.*, L (1895) 453 ff.; Domaszewski, *Neue Heidelb. Jahrb.*, V (1896) 122 ff. This miracle is matched by that of the battle of Frigidus (394), in which the prayer of Theodosius caused a heavy wind to drive back the weapons of the soldiers of the pagan Eugenius. The evidence collected by Baronius (*Annales*, ed. Theiner, VI, 133-5) was acceptable to medieval collectors of exempla (cf., e. g., J. A. H. Herbert, *Cat. of Romances*, III, 181; Benvenuto da Imola, *Commentum super Dantis Alighierij Comoediam*, III, 222). Christians could find the model for such miracles done in their behalf in that told in *Joshua*, X, 10.

¹⁶ Petersen has shown that Marcus was not present at the battle (*Rh. M.*, L, 458).

¹⁷ F. G. Welcker in his article "Einfluss der Luft und der Winde" published in 1832 in *Heckers Annalen*, XXIII, 164 ff., and reprinted in his *Kleine Schriften*, III (1850) 57-63, collected most of the instances, for which I cite recent critical texts and studies.

¹⁸ Laert. Diogenes, VIII, 59, 3-5; cf. Clem. Al., *Strom.*, VI, 30, 1-3; ed. *GrChrSchr.* II, 445. The passage has been discussed by H. Diels, *Sitzungsb. d. Berl. Ak.*, 1898, 407 ff., and translated in his *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 214.

¹⁹ Diels, *Sitzungsb. d. Berl. Ak.*, 1884, 344, n. 1; 1898, 409. The troubadours were not the first poets whose poetical phrasings were transformed into biographic details.

²⁰ Clem. Al., *loc. cit.*; Hesychius, s. v. *κωλυν*; Suidas, s. v. *Ἀμύκλει*; *Ἄπρον*; *δορά*, *Ἐμπεδοκλήης*.

²¹ Iamblichus, *Vita Pythag.*, §136; ed. Nauck, 99; Porphyry, *Vita Pyth.*, §29. The source is the earlier work of Nicomachus, cf. Diels, *F. d. V.*, 162. The name *Πανσαμένος* conjured up by ingenious editors of Plutarch from a corrupt passage (*Sympos.* VIII, 8, 1, p. 728 E) is not acceptable for many reasons. Cf. Diels, *BSB.*, 1898, 408.

²² Laert. Diog., VIII, 60. Suidas, as cited above.

crops of the fields, according to another,²³ his native city, from which he was reported to have also warded off a cloud burst.²⁴ A variant, or a rationalized form of the first story, is given by Plutarch,²⁵ according to which he blocked up a pass through which there had been blowing a south wind, injurious both to the fields and to health. The tragedian Sophocles was credited with charming away an immoderate wind,²⁶ while an Athenian family, the *Eudáneμοι*,²⁷ probably²⁸ furnished the celebrants of the service to the god *Eudáneμος*,²⁹ who calmed the raging winds. In Corinth there was likewise a family who, probably on account of certain sacrifices and formulas used by them to attain the desired aim,³⁰ were called wind-lullers, *Ανεμοκοῖτοι*.³¹ Finally, the later Pythagoreans attributed to their master the same protective powers against the wind, that had been attributed to Empedocles.³²

The Athenians sacrificed boiled instead of roasted meat to the

²³ Suidas, *s. v.*, Ἐμπεδοκλ. The phrase πρὸς τὸ συλλαβεῖν τὸ πνεῦμα, which is only found *s. v.* Ἄπρονι, must represent an accretion to the original story. As Welcker (61) thinks, the story had its basis in the magic use made of the skins of certain animals to ward off hail and lightning (*Geoponica*, I, 14-16), and to bring on rain (Frazer, *Golden Bough*, I, 287 ff.). The word ἐξελῶσαι found in the accounts of Empedocles' wonder-working, is used as a part of compound words in technical phrases of the *Geoponica*; *παρελῶσαι* (I, 14, 4 and 6, p. 29); *ἀποπορευθῆναι* (I, 14, 8, p. 29). An ass was sacrificed to the winds on Mt. Taygetus according to Hesychius, *s. v.* ἀνεμώτας. The *Cyranides* does not tell for what particular magic use a ring was made of the skin of an ass's fore-foot (II, 15, 1; ed. de Mély et Ruelle, *Les lapidaires grecs*, 1898, p. 18). If Timaeus was the source of the account in Laertius, the more detailed account of Suidas, who also made use of the latter, was the *Vit. Soph.* of Porphyry; cf. Flach, *Rh. M.*, XXXV, 209-210.

²⁴ Philostratus, *Vita Apoll.*, VIII, 7, 8; ed. min. Kayser, I, 313, 20-21.

²⁵ *De curios.*, p. 515 C; *Adv. Colot.*, p. 1126 B.

²⁶ Philostratus, *loc. cit.*

²⁷ Hesychius, *s. v.*; cf. Toepffer, Pauly-Wissowa, I, 2180; Jessen, *ib.*, VIII, 1381.

²⁸ Usener, *Götternamen*, 259; *Rh. M.*, LIII, 346.

²⁹ Arrian, *Anab.*, III, 16, 8.

³⁰ Usener, *Götternamen*, 259-260.

³¹ Hesych., Suidas, *s. v.*; Bekker, *Anec. Gr.*, I, 397; Eustathius in *Od.*, X, 22; p. 1645.

³² Iamblichus, *V. P.*, §136; ed. Nauck, 99; Porph., *V. P.*, §29. As Greek sacrificial ceremonies to the winds were influenced by Persian models (P. Stengel, "Die Opfer der Hellenen und die Winde", *Hermes*, XVI (1881) 348 ff.; *Die griechische Kultusaltertümer*, 2d ed. 115), it may be that magical practises felt the same influences (Cf. Welcker, *op. cit.*, 62-3).

seasons, praying them to avert severe heat and drought, and to send moderate heat and timely rain to ripen the growing crops.³³ This practice was in conformity to a primitive philosophy which attributed rain to a boiling process, that might be imitated successfully by certain magical rites, such as are found practised to-day among primitive peoples, have been attributed to European witches within two centuries, and survive as an article of contemporary popular belief.^{33a} The Greeks in sacrificing black victims to the winds as well as to the dead,³⁴ adopted the union or confusion of their attributes in popular conceptions, which have survived, fused with Christian demonology, almost to the present day. The patron god of Delphi did not need human invocations to incite nor human arms to help him in the defense of his sanctuary against the Persian invaders. Mardonius, the lieutenant of Xerxes, who was sent to destroy it, met his death there through a heavy fall of hail (*χαλάζης ἐπιπεσούσης παχείας*), according to Ctesias.^{34a} In Herodotus's account^{34b} of the same event, the fall of the thunderbolts from heaven on the invading army, was only one of several miracles by which the shrine was defended.

If, as early as the fifth century before the Christian era,³⁵ such pretences of magicians to control the elements were condemned by the Hippocratean author of the *De morbo sacro*,³⁶ the Roman legal code of Theodosius II, seven centuries later (321), followed by that of Justinian, especially excepted from the operations of the laws

³³ Philorchus, cited by Athenaeus, XIV, 72; p. 656 A.

^{33a} Frazer (*op. cit.*, I, 310) has noted the underlying conception according to which the water of the boiled meat was transmitted to the deities, but not its connection with primitive meteorological ideas.

³⁴ P. Stengel, *Zeitschr. f. Gymnasialwesen*, XXXIV (1880) 745; *Hermes*, XVI, 349.

^{34a} *Persicorum Excerpta*, 25, ed. Baehr, 70; cf. *Rh. M.*, LX, 144-5.

^{34b} VIII, 37-9. Of these miracles the appearance of the local heroes is an early instance of the aid given to their worshippers by military saints (cf. Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. V, 344-7; R. R., IV, 235, n. 87); the landslide due here to divine power could also be caused by sorcerers and witches (*Fornsögur*, ed. G. Vigfússon, 59; Hansen, *Quellen*, 572 ff; Kämpfen, *Hexen und Hexenprocesse im Wallis* (Stans, 1867), 25, 46-49, 69-70. On these various stories as the inventions of Delphic priests cf. R. W. Macan, *Herodotus, Books VII-IX, ad. loc.*, and II, 234-6.

³⁵ Cf. Diels, *Sitzungsb. d. Berl. Ak.*, 1898, 408.

³⁶ Ch. I, p. 591, ed. Kühner.

against magical practitioners those who used their arts to bring on beneficent rain, or to drive away harmful hail.³⁷ Sotopater, once a favorite of Constantine, was ordered to be executed by the latter to please the rabble, who attributed to his magic powers the head-winds and calms which detained the corn-ships from Egypt and Syria.³⁸ If the Christian church at an early period gave to the celebrants of its mysteries an opportunity to use formulas and practise ceremonies, the latter often borrowed from pagan ritual, to bring on rain and keep off storms;³⁹ on the other hand, the codes of the Germanic peoples, which a Christian tendency inspired and influenced,⁴⁰ condemned on an equality with other enchanters the weather-wise, who were not hedged about with sacerdotal divinity, the "tempestarii,"⁴¹ and "immissores tempestatum,"⁴² who were said "suis maleficiis aëra posse conturbare et grandines immittere."⁴³ Clement of Alexandria⁴⁴ at the beginning of the third century and Eusebius of Alex-

³⁷ *Cod. Theod.* I, 16, 3; *Cod. Just.* 9, 18, 4; cf. Mommsen, *Römische Strafrecht*, 639, n. 2, 862-3. Hubert has noted the standard passages of Latin authors which refer to the magical protection of fields and vineyards (*op. cit.*, 1500, n. 16).

³⁸ Eunapius, *Vitae sophistarum: Aedisius*, p. 463; ed. Didot.

³⁹ A. Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter*, II, 3-19, 42-104.

⁴⁰ J. Hansen, *Zauberwahn, Inquisition und Hexenprozess im Mittelalter*, 54, 62. Epiphanius (*Adv. Haer.* LXVI, Migne, *Patr. gr.*, XLII, 65) does not charge the Manichaeans with causing storms, when he states that according to their doctrines "μή ἐκ Θεοῦ τοὺς θυβρῶν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ἀποβολὰς ἀρχόντων," and that the clouds were due to the anger, and the rain to the sweat of the chief of the powers of the air, when in pursuit of a celestial maiden (*Ib.*, 76). This same meteorological myth was found among the Priscillianists and Origenists according to Orosius (*Commentarium de errore Prisc. et Orig.*, ed. Schepps; *Corp. Script. eccl.*, XVIII, 154). The eighth canon of the council of Braga (563; cf. Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, III, 15) condemned the belief, while equating the prince of the air with the devil (*Concilia*, ed. Hardouin, III, 349). There is nothing in these doctrinal attacks which justifies the statement that the Manichaeans themselves were guilty of storm-making, made by Heppe in his edition of Soldan's *Gesch. der Hexenprozesse* (I, 148), and not corrected in Bauer's revision (I, 130), although the facts are correctly stated in the original work (116), as far as the author's information took him.

⁴¹ *Capitularia regum Francorum*, ed. Boretius (*M. G. Leges*, Sect. II) I, 59, 2 (Charlemagne, 789); cf. 402, 29 (827); 104, 5 (802); cf. "qui tempestates . . . faciunt", *ib.*, 228 (Council of Reisbach-Freisung, 799); *Lex. Bajw. Add.* 6, 15; *M. G. Leges*, fol. III, 471.

⁴² *Lex Visigothorum*, VI, 2; ed. Zeumer (*M. G. Leges* Sect. I) 259; *Lex Romana Raetica Curiensis* (circa 850); ed. *M. G. Leges* fol. V, 372.

⁴³ *Capitularia regum Fr.*, II, 36 (*Addit. ad Hludowici Pii capit. ann.* 829).

⁴⁴ *Strom.*, VI, 3 *grChrSchr.* II, 446.

andria⁴⁵ in the fifth or sixth century,⁴⁶ held up to the contempt of their coreligionists the pagan belief that "hail-guards" (χαλαζοφύλακες)⁴⁷ were able to drive away hail and other atmospheric disturbances by magical practices. In the *Quaestiones et responsiones ad orthodoxos*, written between 365 and 378, probably by Diodorus of Tarsus,⁴⁸ the question is asked why, if the clouds give rain at the will of God, cloud-hunters (νεφοδιώκται) can direct clouds, hail and rain where they will, by the use of charms (ἐποιδίαι). The answer is that it is not scriptural and is incredible, and that the questioner is asking a question about something he has heard of, and not what he has seen.⁴⁹ A canon of the Quinisext⁵⁰ council, held at Constantinople in 692, subjected those called "cloud-hunters" (τοὺς λεκομένους νεφοδιώκτας), and others guilty of practising pagan customs, to a penance of six years.⁵¹

⁴⁵ *Serm.* xxii; Migne, *PG.* LXXXVI, 456. The devices used by such practitioners were summed up in the tenth century in a sceptical spirit by Cassianus Bassus (*Geoponica*, I, 14-16; ed. Beckh).

⁴⁶ J. C. Thilo, *Ueber die Schriften des Eusebius von Alexandrien und des Eusebius von Emesa* (1832), 55, 57, 80 (f); A. Mai, *Spicileg. Rom.*, X (1843) 1 ff.; *Nov. Patr. Bibl.*, II (1844) 499 ff.; E. von Dobschütz, *Hastings's Dict. of the Bible*, III, 545 (g); E. K. Rand, *Mod. Philol.*, II, 262-3.

⁴⁷ This name is not found in either of these Christian writers, but Clement localizes the practise at Cleonae in Argolis, as does Seneca in his fuller account (*Quaest. nat.*, IV, 6-7), where the latter used the Greek term found also in Plutarch (*Quaest. Conviv.* VII, 2; p. 700F.). Cf. J. G. Fraser, *Pausanias*, III, 83, 289.

⁴⁸ A. Harnack, *Diodor von Tarsus, Vier Pseudojustin. Schriften* (TU. XXI, 3) 1901, 33 ff. Harnack's results have been disputed by Funk, *Kirchengesch. Abhandl.*, III (1907) 323 ff.

⁴⁹ *PG.* VI, 1277. Franz, *op. cit.*, II, 28, misinterprets the passages; cf. Harnack, *op. cit.* 91.

⁵⁰ For the name cf. J. C. Robertson, *History of the Christian Church*, II, 439, n. m. *Concilia*, III, 1684. If five hundred years later, Balsamon in his commentary on the canons of this council, stated that the word meant seers who divined the future from the movements of the clouds (*PG.*, CXXXVII, 721), he is at variance with the earlier explanation of the *Quaestiones*, and yet he gives a possible meaning. For it must be remembered that the clouds as well as other natural phenomena, thunder, earthquakes etc. were the manifestations of the deity, which seers alone undertook to explain (cf. Iamblichus, *Vita Pyth.*, ¶135, ed. Nauck, 99); Ganschietz, *Hippolytos's Capitel gegen die Magier* (TU., XXXIX, 2) 1913, 48. The *Clouds* of Aristophanes owed its name to the procedure of similar practitioners; cf. W. Capelle, *Philologus*, LXXI, 439; F. G. Welcker, *op. cit.*, 59-60.

⁵¹ C. 61: *Concilia*, Hardouinus, III, 1684. The source of this canon, the

In a homily, attributed to Augustine, but written in the seventh or eighth century, probably on Gallic soil, directed against popular superstitious practises, warning is emphatically given that those

qui grandinem per lamineas plumbeas scriptas et per cornus incantatos avertere putant, isti non Christiani, sed pagani sunt.⁵²

Pir(ri)minius, abbot of Prüm (d. circa 753), in his *Dicta de singulis canonicis scarapsus* also discredited the belief in weather-makers:

Tempestarios nolite credere, nec aliquid pro hoc eis dare.⁵³

That truly enlightened man, Agobard, Bishop of Lyons, devoted his treatise *Contra insulsam vulgi opinionem de grandine et tonitruis* (circa 820)⁵⁴ to an attack on the same superstition, which was generally shared by people of all classes in his diocese. Against it he used all the weapons of scriptural authority, religion and intelligence, finding the belief in and fear of the powers of the "tempestarii" at once a bit of silliness and a blasphemy against the omnipotence of God. Their belief and fear were shown by their saying, when it thundered or the wind blew slightly: "Levatitia aura est," and "Maledicta lingua illa, et arefiat, et jam praecisa esse debebat quae hoc facit."⁵⁵ Nor did these impostors, themselves, fail to put forward their own pretensions to wonderful powers, and to demand due compensation for its use:

Haec stultitia . . . in tantum malum istud jam adolevit, ut in plerisque licis sint homines miserrimi qui dicant se non equidem nosse immittere tempestates, sed nosse tamen defendere a tempestate habitantes loci. His habent statutum quantum de frugibus suis donent, et appellant hoc canonicum.⁵⁶

twenty-fourth canon of the synod of Ancyra (314), does not specify this practise among the superstitious customs, subject to a penance of five years (*Concilia*, I, 280; cf. Hefele, *op. cit.*, I, 241). On the extension of the time of penance cf. Schmitz, *op. cit.*, I, 309-310.

⁵² C. P. Caspari, *Eine Augustin fälschlich beilegte [sic] Homilia de sacrilegiis*, c. V, p. 10; cf. for the practice, *ib.*, 32-3; H. A. Saupe, *Der Indiculus superstitionum et paganiarum, ein Verzeichnis heidnischer und abergläubischer Gebräuche und Meinungen aus der Zeit Karls des Grossen, aus zumeist gleichzeitigen Schriften erläutert*. Leipzig 1891, 26-7.

⁵³ C. P. Caspari, *Kirchenhistorische Anekdoten*, I, 173.

⁵⁴ *PL.*, CIV, 147-158.

⁵⁵ *Ib.*, 154.

⁵⁶ *Ib.*, 156-157. It is noticeable that Agobard believes in his own magicians

This attack of Agobard seems to have been the source of the phraseology, if it did not furnish the inspiration, of the assault on the superstition by the Frankish bishop of Verona, Ratherius, in his *Praeloquia*, which he commenced writing while a prisoner at Pavia, 935-937. He assails those who

non solum malignis angelis, sed etiam quibusdam miserrimis hominibus illud (i. e. the misfortunes of Job) ascribens, quemlibet immisorem, aut propulsorem ut dicitur, tempestatum evocare, donisque, ut hoc medere dignaretur, placari.⁵⁷

In an Ascension sermon preached in Verona in 963,⁵⁸ he spoke against those who believed that "tempestatem ab homine fieri posse," and those "qui dicunt quod ipsi per incantationes suas tempestates

the saints; "Sancti Dei, qui multa obtinuerunt, et obtenturi sunt: quorum aliqui potestatem habebunt claudere coelum, ne pluat diebus prophetiae ipsorum, sicut Elias . . . exceptis, ut dictum est, sanctis . . . sicut saepe multi servorum Dei orationibus obtinuerunt, ut tempore siccitatis pluvias Dominus largiri dignaretur." *Ib.*, 153. A number of the innumerable examples of such miracles done by saints have been noted by P. Toldo, *Studien z. vergl. Literaturgeschichte*, VI, 310-330. It is the usual theological trick of finding an action miraculous in a saint, when it smacks of the devil when found elsewhere; cf. R. R., V, 67. For a Latin charm against rain and hail of the ninth century cf. S. Berger, *Mélusine*, III, 219. For similar charms cf. Ebermann, *Zeitschr. d. Ver. f. Volkskunde*, XIII, 115-116. Florus of Lyons, the ally of Agobard in a number of controversies (Cf. Manitius, *op. cit.*, 560, 565), in the commentary on the Pauline Epistles, his most widely known work (*Ib.*, 567), cites on Eph., II, 2 and VI, 12 (*PL.*, CXIX, 374, 382) two appropriate passages of St. Augustin (*Epist.*, Class. III, 217; *PL.*, XXXIII, 982; *Tract. in Joann. Evang.* LV, 13; XXXV. 1786) stating the orthodox belief in the demons of the air.

⁵⁷ I, 4; *PL.*, CXXXVI, 158. The passage on the subject follows the much cited passage (E. G. Grimm, *D. M.*, 4th ed., I, 235; Hansen, *op. cit.*, 133, n. 1) in regard to the belief that a third part of mankind belonged to Hérodiades. Here again Ratherius is not attacking a local Italian superstition, as he cites for his authority a certain "Gen." who has been conjectured by Grimm to be Genadius Massiliensis (c. 500), who might well have referred to such a belief in his several works against heresies which have been lost. It does not appear in his *Epistula de fide mea* (ed. C. W. Turner, *Journ. Th. St.*, VII, 78), which has been supposed to be a summary of his *Adversus omnes haereses* (Teuffel, *Ges. d. rom. Lit.* 6th ed. 464, 12). On the other hand it is noteworthy that this particular trait of the tradition is only found again in the *Isengrimus* (II, 90). Nivardus of Ghent, who in 1151-2 (cf. Rom., XLI, 279) wrote his work in the Flemish speaking territory, not far from Ratherius's birthplace Cambrai. This trait is not found in the Italian popular beliefs attacked by Bernardino di Siena (d. 1444), Zachariae, *Zeitschr. des Vereins für Volkskunde*, XXII, 238, 238.

⁵⁸ *Ib.*, 733, n. 1521.

avertant." He shows himself more advanced in opinion than in his earlier work, going counter to the whole spirit of medieval Christian thought in denying a demoniacal cause to these storms, as being contrary to the omnipotence of God:

Intendat charitas vestra: Contra enim eos qui dicunt, quod homo malus vel diabolus tempestatem faciat, lapides grandinum spargat, vineta atque campos devastet, fulgura mittat, jumenta et pecora, ipsosque homines interficiat; contra illos, inquam, valet quod dicit: Non est qui de manu mea possit eruere.⁵⁰

But the popular belief was fostered rather than combatted by the "Penitentials," whether of Irish, Anglo-Saxon, Frankish, or Roman origin, which generally imposed a seven years' penance on "emissores tempestatum,"⁶⁰ and by such legislation as is found in one of the *Capitularies* of Herard, archbishop of Tours (858), according to which "tempestuarii" and other enchanter, were forbidden to practise their arts, and were subjected to public penance,⁶¹ and in the *De synodalibus causis et disciplinis ecclesiastici* of Regino, abbot of Prüm (906), which called for the punishment of these classes of people with every sort of penalty, and inflicted seven years of penance on the "immissores tempestatum."⁶² It is only in the collection of canon laws made by Burchard, Bishop of Worms, in 1020, that one finds a rational view of the superstition. If the compiler lays down the law,⁶³ speaking in general terms, that they and other enchanter be anathematized and rejected from the church, he changes the phrasing of the clause of Regino's work, so that anyone

⁵⁰ *Ib.*, 739. It must not be forgotten that while Ratherius attacked popular superstitions, he was a violent supporter of the basis of theological superstitions, the doctrine of transubstantiation (cf. R. L. Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought*, 80).

⁶⁰ Wasserschleben, *Die Bussordnungen der Abendländischen Kirche*, 235, 272, 292, 367, 407, 413, 481, 533, 598; H. J. Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher und das Kanonische Bussverfahren*, I, 308, 460, 479, 577, 633, 811; II, 181, 238, 296, 321, 324, 342, 368, 627, 664.

⁶¹ *Concilia*, IV, 450. The source of this capitulary was a paragraph of the *Capitularia* of the Pseudo-Benedictus Levita (*M. G. Leges*, II, Pars 2, 136, II, 21), which was copied from the *Addit. ad. Hludowici Pii cap.*, of which I have cited the pertinent phrase (*Supra*, 41), which Herard has defined with a single word.

⁶² *Lib. II*, capp. 353, 356; *PL.*, CXXXII, 350; cf. Schmitz, *op. cit.*, II, 377.

⁶³ *X. 28*; *PL. CXL*, 140; cf. Hansen, 86.

"qui credit ut aliqui hominum sint immissores tempestatum" should be subject to the penance reserved for the "immissores" in the original text.⁶⁴ In the Penitential known as the *Corrector*,⁶⁵ forming the nineteenth book of Burchard's work, which was probably the work of another earlier writer, which he had drafted into his own service, this penance is reduced to one year.⁶⁶ The text of Burchard's own interpretation passed into the *Decretum* of Ivo of Chartres (d. 1115),⁶⁷ and this was probably the reason why this particular form of magical practice was not even considered in later collections of canon law. A synod, held at Trèves in 1310, forbade people having recourse to "paganorum morem secutus ad divinos, sorciarios vel augures. . . contra grandines et tempestates",⁷⁰ one held in Prague in 1349 instructed priests to tell their parishioners frequently that charms "nihil posse. . . potestati tonitruorum vel grandinum providere".⁷¹ This method of attacking the belief at its root, adopted by ecclesiastical authorities, would have helped greatly in stamping out this relic of paganism, had not the spread of the witchcraft delusion, for which both Papist and Protestant sects were equally guilty, supplied substance for the revival and strengthening of the belief into a more concrete form than is to be found in Classical or Germanic antiquity.

In none of these preachings and prohibitions, legal and religious, does one find a suggestion of the magical rites that were used by the weathermakers. Agobard's earnest endeavor to find an eye-witness of the ceremony met with no success, as is told by him in a passage, which, as an account of scientific investigation, forms a contrast as pleasing as it is striking when compared with the methods used by later witch-hunters to ascertain the truth:

Possent quoque de inimicis suis se vindicare, non solum ablatione frugum, sed et vitæ ademptione. Quando enim contigit inimicos

⁶⁴ X, 8; *PL*. CXL, 140.

⁶⁵ For its source etc. Schmitz, II, 382-392.—Notes ⁶⁷ and ⁶⁸ suppressed.

⁶⁶ The oldest form of it has been printed, with variants from later manuscripts, by Schmitz, II, 425; for source of text cf. 402.

⁶⁹ Lib. XI, c. 36; *PL*. CLXI, 755. It passed into other penitentials, as into the eleventh century *Summa de judiciis omnium peccatorum*; Schmitz, II, 495; on date, 480.

⁷⁰ C. 61, Harzheim, *Concilia Germaniae*, IV, 144.

⁷¹ C. 61, Harzheim, IV, 400. Harzheim wrongly attributes this synod to 1355, cf. Hefele, *Conciliengesch.*, 2d ed., VI, 689, n. 1.

Tempestariorum esse in itinere aut in agris, ut eos occiderent, posset multiplicatim grandinem super eos in unam congeriem fundere, et obruere illos. Nam et hoc quidam dicunt, nosse se tales Tempestarios, qui dispersam grandinem, et late per regionem decidentem, faciant unum in locum fluminis aut silvae infructuosae aut super unam, ut aiunt, cupam, sub qua ipse lateat, defluere. Frequenter certe audivimus a multis dici quod talia nosset certe in locis facta; sed necdum audivimus ut aliquis se haec vidisse testaretur. Dicitum est mihi aliquando de aliquo, quod se haec vidisse diceret. Sed ego multa sollicitudine egi ut viderem illum, sicuti et feci. Cum autem loquerer cum illo, et tentaret dicere se ita vidisse, ego multis precibus et adjurationibus cum divinis etiam comminationibus obstrinxi illum rogicans, ut non diceret illud nisi quod verum esset. Tunc ille affirmabat quidem verum esse quod dicebat, nominans hominem, tempus et locum; sed tamen confessus est se eodem tempore praesentem non fuisse.⁷²

No other patristic writer had such an influence, other than doctrinal, on Occidental Europe for a thousand years after the fall of the Western Empire, as Isidore of Seville. The most specific proof of such an influence is to be found in the number and widely distributed area of the manuscripts of his works.⁷³ His *Etymologiae*, a synthesis of pagan learning, envisaged from an unsympathetic Christian point of view, was one of the chief sources of medieval scientific knowledge.⁷⁴ Who can estimate the effect on thirty generations of credulous, text-led churchmen, of the statement, in such an authority, that

Magi sunt, qui vulgo malefici ob facinorum magnitudinem nuncupantur. Hi et elementa concutiunt, turbant mentes hominum, ac sine ulla veneni hausti violentia tantum carminis interimunt. . . . Daemonibus enim additis audent ventilare, ut quisque suos perimat malis artibus inimicos.

If the truth of this statement needed further confirmation by the medieval mind, it could be found in such encyclopaedic works as the

⁷² *PL.*, CIV, 151-2.

Philol. des Mittelalters) 1-131.

⁷³ Cf. C. H. Beeson, *Isidor-Studien* (Quelle und Untersuch. zur latein.

⁷⁴ Manitius, *op. cit.*, 66.

⁷⁵ VIII, 9, 9; ed. Lindsay. It is a phrase from the *Cod. Theod.*, 9, 16, 4, for which Constantine was responsible.

*De rerum naturis*⁷⁶ of Hrabanus Maurus (c. 842), and the *Policraticus*⁷⁷ of John of Salisbury (1156), and in the collection of canon laws attributed to Ivo of Chartres (d. 1115),⁷⁸ and to Gratian (c. 1140),⁷⁹ where the chapter containing it is quoted at length.

For the first time, one finds accounts of the methods used to bring on storms, in heresy trials of the fourteenth century, and the detailed confessions of those held responsible, compared with the negative results of Agobard's judicial investigations, shows the extent to which human intelligence was debased, and human justice perverted in four centuries under the restrictive guardianship of the hierarchy of a church which claimed to be universal. If, according to Greek popular belief, evil demons caused rain and storms in the midst of which the spirits of the dead rode through the air,⁸⁰ these conceptions found no place in the explanations of atmospheric phenomena of pagan philosophies,⁸¹ which survived through the middle ages, down to comparatively modern times.⁸² But the Christian church adopted them as an article of an integral part of its faith, a belief in an elaborate system of demonology.⁸³ Already St. Paul speaks of the hostile "prince of the power of the air",⁸⁴ and of the

⁷⁶ XV, 4; *PL.*, CXI, 422. Hrabanus cites it also at length in the section *De magicis artibus*, a portion of his treatise *De consanguineorum nuptiis*; *PG.*, CX, 1097-1099; cf. Manitius, 299. His friend Hincmar, also cites it in his *De divortio Lotharii* (Interrog. 15; *PL.* CXXV, 718-719; cf. Manitius, 341, n. 2; Hansen, *op. cit.*, 71-73); cf. also Ps. Alcuin, *De Div. offic.*, cap. xii; *PL.*, CI, 1196.

⁷⁷ I, 10; ed. Webb, I, 49. For date cf. B. Hauréau, *C. R. Acad. des Inscr.*, 1872, 78.

⁷⁸ *Panormia*, VIII, 61; *PL.* CLXI, 1317-1318; *Decretum*, XI, 67; *PL.* CLXL. On the authorship cf. Loewe, *Prodromus*, 247; Clerval, *Les écoles de Chartres*, 149 ff.

⁷⁹ *Decret.* II, xxvi, 5, c. 14 (ed. Friedberg, I, 1032).

⁸⁰ Rohde, *Psyche*, 3d ed. I, 247-9; *Kl. Schr.*, II, 226-9; P. Stengel, *Hermes*, XVI, 349; *Die griech. Kultusaltertümer*, 2d ed. 112; Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, 776, 785, 845; I, 322-330.

⁸¹ J. L. Ideler, *Meteorologia veterum Graecorum et Romanorum*, 96 ff.; 155-174; cf. especially, 162, n. 5.

⁸² A. D. White, *History of the Warfare of Science with Theology*; A. Franz, *op. cit.*, 19-22; Ch.-V. Langlois, *La Connaissance de la Nature et du Monde au moyen âge, d'après quelques écrits français à l'usage des laïcs*, 97-8, 131, 150-1, 221, 294, 350-1; cf. *Rom. Rev.*, III, 317-318.

⁸³ Franz, *op. cit.*, II, 514-528; Hansen, 2, 21 ff.; 122 ff.

⁸⁴ *Ephes.* II, 2; "τὸν ἀρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος."

"spirits of wickedness of the sky".⁸⁵ Origen,⁸⁶ Eusebius,⁸⁷ Ambrose,⁸⁸ Jerome,⁸⁹ and Augustine⁹⁰ found in these statements authority for assigning to the evil spirits as a dwelling, the air surrounding the earth, and Origen⁹¹ was the first to put forward as peculiarly Christian the belief that these demons were allowed by God to afflict mankind with hunger, failure of crops, and sickness, as a punishment and lesson. If Clement of Alexandria,⁹² in an unusual rational vein, objects to the belief current among his Christian contemporaries, that demons and bad angels sent hail and storms, two centuries later Augustine, the sponsor of so many equally absurd doctrines and superstitions in the Christian church, in his comment on Psalm LXXVII, pointed out that the statement of vv. 47-49, according to which God induced inclemencies of the weather among mankind through the agency of "angeli mali", was confirmed by the book of Job,⁹³ and, in fact, the latter work became the standard Scriptural authority for the demoniacal cause of storms. This belief was emphasized in the allegorical interpretation of *Job* by Greg-

⁸⁵ VI, 12; "πνευματικά τῆς πορνείας ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις." Cf. Gruppe, 845, n. 5. Reitzenstein (*Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, 191, 82) considers the passage (*Eph.* VI, 10-18) in which the second phrase is found, was based on the ritual of a pagan mystery, similar to those of which he has collected examples (66-9).

⁸⁶ *Exhortatio ad martyrium*, ed. *GrChrSchr.* I, 41, παραμένειν ἐν τῷ πατρὶ τοῦτον καὶ περὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν δεόμενοι.

⁸⁷ Cf. *supra* p. 000, n. 12.

⁸⁸ *Comm. in ps. 118*: CSEL, LXIII, 248-9.

⁸⁹ *Comm. in Isaiah*, X, 34; XIII, 1: *PL.* XXIV, 370, 476-7; *Comm. ad Ephes.* I, 2, III, 6: *PL.* XXVI, 466, 546-7. It is noticeable that the heretic Pelagius, in his comment on *Ephes.* II, 2; "multi sane opinantur quod diabolus in hoc aere" etc., as it appears in a text not tampered with by orthodox editors (H. Zimmer, *Pelagius in Irland*, 360; *PL.* CIII, 198; cf. *PL.* XXX, 827; LXVIII, 611) shows a scepticism which is a pleasing contrast to the gross superstition of his chief opponent. But his knowledge of Greek (Zimmer, 198-9, 258, 277, n., 350) gave him an acquaintance with the Eastern patristic writers who were not generally as materialistic as the Occidental in their interpretation of the Pauline passages (cf. e. g. John Chrysostom, *Hom. in Ephes.*, PG. LXII, 31-2, 150; Theodoretus, *Interpr. Epist. ad Ephes.*, PG. LXXXII, 520, 552-3).

⁹⁰ *De civ. Dei*, VIII, 22: CSEL. XL, 1, 391; *De Genesi ad litteram*, III, 9-10: CSEL. XXVIII, 71-4; *De natura boni*, 30: CSEL. XXV, 271-2; *De trinitate*, IV, 17: *PL.* XLII, 902-3.

⁹¹ *Contra Celsum*, VIII, 31: ed. *GrChrSchr.* II, 246-7.

⁹² *Stromata*, VI, 3, 30: ed. *GrChrSchr.* II, 460.

⁹³ *Enarratio in Ps. 77*, *PL.*, XXXVI, 1001-3.

ory the Great,⁹⁴ one of the most popular of medieval works.⁹⁵ Constantinus in his *Life of Germañus of Auxerre*, written about 480,⁹⁶ tells how the "inimica uis daemonum," who feared the results of his anti-Pelagian mission, caused storms (procellas) on the saint's first voyage from Gaul to Britain, and how the latter dispelled the storm by invoking Christ and sprinkling water.⁹⁷ This account became an integral part of medieval historical tradition by passing into Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*⁹⁸ and served as a model for similar miracles in other hagiographies.⁹⁹ Finally the belief became a fundamental article of scholastic philosophy. Although Peter Lombard in his *Sententiae*, which was the standard theological textbook from the last quarter of the twelfth century,¹⁰⁰ only expressed the view¹⁰¹ that demons lived in the air, from which they issued to trouble mankind; a century later his commentator Thomas Aquinas accepting this general principle,¹⁰² starting from the premises that corporal things being subject to local impulse through the will of spiritual beings,¹⁰³ demons as well as angels could perform marvels apparently against the course of nature;¹⁰⁴ therefore

et angeli boni et mali possunt aliquid in istis corporibus operari prae-
ter actionem coelestium corporum, condensando nubes in pluvias, et
aliqua hujus modi faciendo.¹⁰⁵

He is even more explicit in explaining the cause of storms in his commentary on *Job*:

Necesse est confiteri, quod deo permittente demones possunt per-
turbationem aeris inducere, ventos concitare [et] facere, ut ignis de

⁹⁴ *Moralia*, I, 16; *PL*, LXXV, 567-8; I, 47, 590; I, 49, 592.

⁹⁵ Manitius, *op. cit.*, 98-101; Gongaud, *Rev. celt.*, XXX, 36; *R. R.*, IV, 226.

⁹⁶ W. Levison, *Neues Arch. der Gesellsch. f. ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, XXIX, 142.

⁹⁷ B. Mombritius, *Sanctuarium siue vitae sanctorum* [Paris, 1910] I, 575.

⁹⁸ I, 17. For the great number of MSS. cf. ed. Plummer, I, lxxxvi; for its wide use, Manitius, *Gesch. d. latein. Literatur*, I, 83.

⁹⁹ Levison, *op. cit.*, 147, 151, 155, 166-7.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. *Zeit. f. rom. Philol.*, XXXV, 145-6.

¹⁰¹ Lib. II, Dist. 6 *PL*, CXCI, 662-3. In his *Collectanea in Epist. Pauli* he gives the usual orthodox comment on the biblical passages; *Ib.*, 179-180, 219.

¹⁰² *Summa*, I, q. 64, a. 4.

¹⁰³ *Summa*, I, q. 110, a. 3 in corp.; cf. *Quaestio de daemonibus*, cited by Hansen, *op. cit.*, 197, n. 3.

¹⁰⁴ *Summa*, I, 110, a. 4.

¹⁰⁵ *Summa*, I, q. 112, a. 2 in corp.

celo cadat . . . Quecunque igitur solo motu locali fieri possunt huiusmodi per naturalem virtutem non solum spiritus boni, sed etiam mali facere possunt, nisi diuinitus prohibeantur. Venti autem ac pluuiæ et alie huiusmodi aeris perturbationes solo motu vaporum resolutorum ex terra et aqua fieri possunt. Unde ad huiusmodi procuranda naturalis virtus demonis sufficit, sed interdum ad huiusmodi diuina virtute prohibentur, ut non liceat eis facere omne quod possunt.¹⁰⁶

It is in close conformity to this doctrine that Dante has Buonconte da Montefeltro tell what agencies the devil used to wreak vengeance on his body, because he had saved his soul by "one little tear" at the moment of his death (*Purg.* V, 109-120):

Ben sai come nell'aere si raccoglie
 Quell'umido vapor che in acqua riede,
 Tosto che sale dove il freddo il coglie.
 Giunse quel mal voler, che pur mal chiede,
 Con l'intelletto, e mosse il fummo e il vento
 Per la virtù che sua natura diede.
 Indi la valle, come il di fu spento,
 Da Pratomagno al gran giogo coperse
 Di nebbia, e il ciel di sopra fece intento
 Sì, che il pregno aere in acqua sì converse.
 La pioggia cadde, ed ai fossati venne
 Di lei ciò che la terra non sofferse.

And yet, a generation earlier, that great liberal, if minor poet, Jean de Meung in the *Roman de la Rose*, a work with which Dante was certainly acquainted,¹⁰⁷ did not hesitate to treat in a proper contemp-

¹⁰⁶ *Postilla in Job*, ed. [Esslingen] 1474 (Hain 1397) Leaf 6, recto. The basis of this theory is to be found in the doctrines set forth by Augustine, in his explanation of the miracles performed by Pharaoh's magicians, in his treatise *De trinitate*. They did not create the frogs and serpents; the "mali angeli" at their bidding as aerial beings superior to corporeal men "pro subtilitate sui sensus in occultioribus elementorum seminibus norunt, unde ranae serpentesque nascantur, et haec per certas et notas temperationum opportunitates occultis motibus adhibenda faciunt creari, non creant" (Lib. III, capp. 7-9; *PL.*, XLXX, 878). Almost the same phrase is found *ib.* 876. Aquinas cites passages from these chapters in his discussion of the demoniacal cause of storms in the *Summa*, and they have been quoted at length, or summed up by a number of earlier writers; cf. e. g., Hrabanus Maurus, *De artis magicis*, *PL.*, CX, 1099; RATHERIUS VER., *Praeloquia*, I, 4; *PL.*, CXXXVI, 154.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. A. Farinelli, *Dante e la Francia*, I, 22-9; II, 331.

tuous tone the belief. After telling of the harm done by thunderstorms, he goes on:

Si dist-l'en que ce font deables
 A lor croz et a lor chaables,
 A lor ongles, a lor havez,
 Mes tex diz ne vaut deus navez,
 Qu'il en sunt a tort mescreu:
 Car nule riens n'i a eu,
 Fors les tempestes et li vent,
 Qui si les vont aconsivant.
 Ce sunt les choses qui lor nuisent.¹⁰⁸

By the beginning of the thirteenth century Augustine's¹⁰⁹ and Isidore's¹¹⁰ opinions that the demons of the air acted at the bidding of sorcerers had become an article of doctrinal belief among theologians. Church traditions and popular tales told of men who had bound themselves by a written contract to deliver their souls to the devil in return for material advantages.¹¹¹ Such stories interpreted in the light of the scriptural phrase (*Isaiah*, XXVIII, 15; 18) "Percussimus foedus cum morte et cum inferno fecimus pactum", and of Augustine's authoritative statement that the aid given to sorcerers by demons implied a contract between them,¹¹² was basis enough for the scholastic philosophers in the second part of the thirteenth century to state as a scientific principle that sorcerers, in return for renouncing the Christian faith, were instructed and aided in the baleful arts through which they brought harm to their enemies.¹¹³ The incorporation of popular superstition into their elaborate demonology by the scholastics, had dire consequences when their theories, as fine-spun as they were silly, became an integral part of the procedure of the ecclesiastical persecution of heretics, among whom witches were included.¹¹⁴ Given the power of demons

¹⁰⁸ Ed. Michel, 18840-48.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. *supra*, p. 229, n. 106.

¹¹⁰ Cf. *supra*, p. 225.

¹¹¹ Hansen, 128, 129, 131-2, 144-5, 155 and n. 2.

¹¹² *De doctrina christ.* II, 20; *PL.* XXXIV, 50; *De diversis quaest.* LXXXIII, qu. 79; *PL.* XL, 92.

¹¹³ Hansen, 167-173.

¹¹⁴ Hansen, 327, 338, 340, 399-400, 405.

to cause atmospheric disturbances, and the existence of contracts between demons and men for bringing harm to individuals and communities, it was easy to postulate that the method used was that credited by popular belief. Among other popular superstitions, those in regard to storm-making were accepted as actual facts by spiritual and lay courts; introduced as definite charges against some poor wretch, who under the stress of torture—"Tra male gatte era venuto il sorco"—was ready to swear to the truth of every detail of an article of a suggestive interrogatory, in regard to a bit of gross superstition which had developed into a legal formula.

It took some time for the witch judges to develop what might be called the technique of weather-making, on which to base the examinations of their victims. Thus in the earliest trial in which this particular crime has been noted, and which resulted in the burning of eight witches at Toulouse in 1335, one of those who were condemned was only forced to confess that she had caused harmful hail, fog and frost. The Dominican inquisitor stated that

Catherine, pressée vivement, par les moyens qui sont en notre pouvoir, de dire toute la vérité, après avoir long-temps protesté de son innocence et fait nombre de faux sermens, est convenue de tous les crimes dont nous la soupçonnions. Elle faisait tomber la grêle sur les champs de ceux qu'elle n'aimait pas; faisait pourrir les blés par un brouillard empesté, gêler les vignes.¹¹⁵

As the poor victim had already confessed that she was the liege subject and leman of the devil,¹¹⁶ it was understood that she had used methods to harm her neighbors through his aid which did not need to be specified. By this time the original pact between men and the spirit of evil had developed in popular conception into an act of homage of a vassal to his feudal lord¹¹⁷ who gives aid to his subjects to carry out their evil designs, such as instructing them in the magical rites, or furnishing them with the material means, to cause storms, etc.¹¹⁸ This theoretical development in theological

¹¹⁵ Lamothe-Langon, *Histoire de l'Inquisition en France*, III, 239.

¹¹⁶ On the development of the scholastic and legal theories in regard to intrigues between human beings and devils cf. Hansen, *Zauberwahn*, 142-4; 179-189; *R. R.*, V, 55 ff. especially, 67.

¹¹⁷ Hansen, *ib.*, 275-7.

¹¹⁸ *Ib.*, 343. In studying magic storm-making in witch-trials I have naturally been guided by this truly great work, and by the supplementary

and judicial circles had its source in popular beliefs in which the Christian devil originally played no part. In 1438 we find the details of a method of causing a storm set forth so explicitly that it is evident that the officials of the Holy Inquisition in at least one tract of their happy hunting grounds, the abodes of heretics, had metamorphosed a popular belief into a precise formula, put in the form of a question, to which only a positive answer from the accused was acceptable. A certain Pierre Vallin, prosecuted in 1338 as a heretical Vaudois by both the ecclesiastical and lay authorities of La Tour du Pin in Dauphiné, confessed that

super quodam fonte ex precepto sui magistri dyaboli verberavit sive percussit, ex quo a dicto fonte et arte dyabolica et ea causante perverse tempestates exierunt et processerunt, que plurima dampna in terra et super fructibus fecerunt et intulerunt mandato dicti sui magistri Belzebut infernalis demonis.¹¹⁹

The sceptical Martin le Franc in his *Champion des dames*, written between 1440 and 1442 at Bâle,¹²⁰ has his credulous "Adversaire" tell how in the same Vaudois persecution in Dauphiné, an old woman confessed

Que par pouldre quelle souffloit
Faisoit sourdre et lever tempeste
Qui blez et vignoble riffloit,
Entes et arbres essifloit,
Et en estoit ung pays gasté;
Et s'aucun contre elle ronfloit,

Quellen. But I have been able to consult nearly all the original printed texts cited in these works, and to add my quota, particularly in the case of trials of a date later than 1540, the limit set for his investigations by Hansen, through the use of the very large Witchcraft Collection in the Cornell University Library, due to the inspiration and generosity of Dr. A. D. White, and to the learning, watchfulness and industry of Professor G. L. Burr. To the latter I am indebted for many useful suggestions thrown out by him in our discussions on general and specific points in the history of witchcraft.

¹¹⁹ Hansen, *Quellen*, 462. This is one of the items of the charges made against him in the lay court. It is found in a shorter form in the act of condemnation of the inquisitorial court (*Ib.*, 460). Chevalier (*Mémoire historique sur les hérésies en Dauphiné*, Valence, 1890, 135-7) has only printed the second document, and has failed to comment on the case (cf. 32, n.).

¹²⁰ On date cf. G. Paris, *Rom.*, XVI, 395-6; Piaget, *Martin Le Franc*, 18.

Il estoit tantost tempesté.
 Plus de 600 ont déposé,
 Sans qu'ilz fussent mis à torture,
 Qu'ils ont le grésil composé
 Par dessus tous les mons d'Esture,
 Et pluie et vent contre nature
 Fait trébucher où ilz vouloient.¹²¹

Ten years later, in 1448, one of those included in a Vaudois persecution, instituted at Lausanne by a Dominican inquisitor, confessed that he had been present at a witches' meeting on a mountain behind Gruyère, where men broke with pointed pieces of iron, pieces of ice that the devil gave them. A tall, fat black man poured water on this ice, so it would freeze again, and be carried away in the form of hailstones and icicles, by black clouds, which they directed towards the places they wished to harm.¹²² Another of the accused took hailstones from a spring and carried them in company with his devilish master to the place where he wished to scatter them.¹²³ In 1461 another Vaudois confessed that he had caused hail-clouds to rise, by beating springs with a stick, and that, made invisible by the devil, he directed the clouds.¹²⁴ A witch who was tried at

¹²¹ Hansen, *Quellen*, 103.

¹²² M. Reymond, "La sorcellerie au pays de Vaud au XV^e siècle", *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*, XII (1908) 9-10.

¹²³ *Ib.* 10; on date see p. 6.

¹²⁴ M. Reymond, "Cas de sorcellerie en pays fribourgeois au quinzième siècle", *ib.*, XIII, 84-5; on date cf. p. 83. These seem to be the Vaudois trials and confessions described in the manuscript work, *Errores Gazariorum seu illorum, qui scobam vel baculum equitare probantur*, written c. 1450 by an anonymous ecclesiastic, near the Lake of Geneva (Hansen, *Quellen*, 118, cf. 533, 536), whose account of the different methods of hail-making (120) is that given in the text, based on the original French documents. Therefore Hansen's dating c. 1420-1439 of the trials (455) is too early. Another woman of the Vaudois sect confessed at Provins in 1452 that she caused a drizzle (bruyne) by an elaborate ritual which included invoking the devil by making magic circles (cernes), and then, by his advice, making a hole in the center of the circles, from which first a black cat and then a heavy drizzle would rise, the latter becoming stones and sand, if she wished (Bourquelot, "Les Vaudois du quinzième siècle", *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes*, Sér. 2, t. III, 91-2. A German witch confessed in 1586 that the blood of a decapitated black cat was rubbed on a stick, in a ceremony to invoke a satellite of the devil to cause storms and other harm; E. Beyer, *Zauberei und Hexenprozesse im evangelisch. Mecklenburg* (1903) 51-2.

Lucerne about 1450, confessed that she had caused a number of hail-storms in the preceding forty years, having only to take water in her hands from a brook, and throw it behind her, in the name of all the devils, and particularly of those to whom she was devoted. She had been instructed in this art of invoking devilish aid to do mischief, at the beginning of her wicked career, by "ein gros hagelsiedrin" at Meersburg.¹²⁵ An old man burnt in the neighborhood of Nancy in 1456, by his own confession a sorcerer for forty years, said that a severe cold drizzling rain (ung grant bruyne et froid) which had destroyed a good part of the vineyards in April of that year,

avoit advenu par ce que lessdits sorciers et sorcieres getton en une fontaine pres de Desme alucune mystion faicte par l'art du dyable, de laquelle sortit et vint icelle bruyne.¹²⁶

A witch burnt in Cologne in the same year for the same cause, showed while in prison to some official her method of causing hail and frost. She had brought to her a tub of water, over which she performed certain incantations and rites, so that "infra spatium duorum Pater noster" she froze the water so thick that it could be scarcely pierced with the point of a knife or dagger.¹²⁷

The procedure and the results of these trials for maleficent weather-making sorcery in Switzerland inspired those two infamous Dominicans, Heinrich Institoris and Jakob Sprengel,¹²⁸ to use the

¹²⁵ E. Hoffmann-Krayer, "Luzerner Akten zum Hexen- und Zauberwesen", *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*, III, 25. The same process of hail-making was attributed to another woman, tried for witchcraft in 1486 (*Ib.*, 88).

¹²⁶ *Chroniques de Philippe de Vigneulles*, ed. Huguenin, *Chroniques mes-sines*, 285.

¹²⁷ Chronicle of Cornelius Zantfliet, of Liège, Martène-Durand, *Veterum scriptorum ampl. coll.*, V, 491; cf. Hansen, *Quellen*, 566 ff. On making hail in a room cf. below p. 236, n. 134.

¹²⁸ In their work as officials of their order and of the Inquisition, these monks fell below the standard of even their own age and profession, as superstitious bigots and bloodthirsty persecutors. Further Institoris made himself subject to the severest church discipline for embezzling church funds, and causing scandal in his order (Hansen, *Quellen*, 360-415, especially 369, 371, 383, 387-8); and both were equally responsible for the forged approbation of their book attributed to the Theological Faculty of Cologne University (*ib.*, 386-7, 403; *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, XVII (1898, 133-168); XXVI (1907), 391-404.

same methods in their work as inquisitors in Northern Germany, which was so favored by the popes Sixtus IV and Innocent VIII. Their own success is evidenced in that wicked book, of their joint authorship, the *Malleus maleficarum*, written in 1486, and first published in 1487.¹²⁹ In the diocese of Constance, where according to their own proud boast they had, between 1481 and 1486, burnt forty-eight witches,¹³⁰ two were arrested and examined, charged with causing a devastating hail-storm. In fear of torture—*subito libere et a vinculis absoluta, licet in loco torturae*—one of them confessed that the demon who had been her paramour for nineteen years, coming to her house at noon, made an appointment with her in a field, outside of the town, telling her to bring a little water, "*et dum interrogassem, quidnam operis in aqua explere vellet, pluuiam se velle causare respondit.*" Sitting under a tree, with the demon standing by her, she brought on hail by stirring up the water with her finger in a hole she had dug, calling on the names of the devil and all the other demons. The water disappeared, the devil dissolving it in the air (*disparuit, et sursum in aëra Diabolus duxit*). The hail came on as soon as she reached home. Her confession was confirmed in every detail by her accomplice, who performed the same magic process under a neighboring tree.¹³¹

Another woman, who was burnt in the same diocese, brought on a hail-storm to break up a wedding-party, to which she had not been invited. In her anger she had invoked the devil, who had transported her through the air to a mountain, near the town of Waldshut, where she lived. Arrived there,

¹²⁹ Hansen, *Quellen*, 384-6, 393, 401.

¹³⁰ *Malleus mal.*, Pars II, Quaestio I, cap. 4, p. 269. Although the first and other earlier editions are accessible to me I quote from the standard edition of 1669, which forms the first volume of the two volume work, published at Lyon in 1669; *Malleus maleficarum: de Lamiis et Strigibus, et Sagis, Aliisque Magis & Daemoniacis eorumque arte, & potestate, & poena, Tractatus aliquot tam veterum, quam recentiorum auctorum.*

¹³¹ *Mal. m.*, P. II, Q. I, cap. 15; p. 363-6. For the date cf. K. O. Müller, "Heinrich Institoris, der Verfasser des Hexenhammers und seine Tätigkeit als Hexeninquisitor in Ravensburg im Herbst 1484", *Württembergische Vierteljahrshefte für Landesgeschichte*, N. F. XIX (1910), 397-417. This account of the trial, of which the official record has not survived, is translated and discussed by Müller (*ib.*, 409-412).

cum aqua sibi deesset ad fundendum in foueam, (quem modum, ut patebit, ubi grandines excitant, observant,) ipsa in foueam, quam paruam fecerat, urinam loco aquae immisit, et cum digito, more suo, astante Daemone movit, et Daemon subito illum humorem sursum elevans, grandinem vehementem in lapidibus super chorizantes tantummodo et oppidanos immisit.

Her airy flight and subsequent actions were seen by some shepherds, and she saw her way to confess what her judges wished her to, in the way of confirming these witnesses.¹³² A small girl of eight in Swabia (Suevia) brought on first a rain-storm and then hail by the same method, by conjuring a brook and invoking the devil, as she had learned from her mother, the wife of a peasant.¹³³ Another witch when in the prison of the castle of Königsheym, near Schlettstatt, in the diocese of Strasburg, at the request of three friends, who were acting as stool-pigeons, caused a heavy storm of hail to fall on a wood designated by them, by having one of them stir his finger in, and by her speaking a charm over a pan of water.¹³⁴ Our Dominican authors only refer to another method of making rain with the use of a broom, for which we find evidence in later trials, in their discussion of the guilt of those performing such rites:

Scopa ergo, quam mulier intingeret aquae ut pluatur, et sursum in aërem aquam spargendo, licet in se non causat pluuiam, nec posset mulier inde reprehendi, quia tamen ex pacto cum Daemone inito, ubi iam vt Malefica talia facit licet Daemon sit qui pluuiam causat,

¹³² *Mall. mal.*, P. II, Q. I, cap. 3; p. 258-259.

¹³³ *Ib.*, P. II, Q. I, cap. 13; p. 352-3; cf. Müller, *op. cit.*, 416.

¹³⁴ *Mall. mal.*, P. III, Q. XVI; p. 569. The Dominican preacher Geiler stated that "Dar um die Hexen können einen Hagel machen in einer Stube; es muss aber allwegen Wasser da sein" (*Emeis*, Strasburg 1516, 55 b col. 2). This statement has not its source in the *Opusculum de sagis maleficis*, of Martin Plantsch (C iib) as Paulus states (*Hexenwahn und Hexenprozess, vornnehmlich im 16. Jahrhundert*, 13). The power of making rain in a room was attributed to different witches (F. Byloff, *Das Verbrechen der Zauberer; Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte d. Strafrechtspflege in Steiermark*, Graz 1902, 384 (1589), 390 (1624)). Zingerle, *Barbara Pachlerin die Sarntthaler Hexe, und Mathias Perger der Lautfresser*, 32 (1645). H. J. Bell (*Obeah, Witchcraft in the West Indies*, London 1889, 97) reports with confidence the story of a small girl of St. Lucia who "ten years ago" involuntarily caused rain to fall from the ceiling of the rooms she was in (R. Reichel, "Ein Marburger Hexenprozess vom 1546", *Mitth. d. historische Ver. f. Steiermark*, Heft XXVII (1879), 124).

isa tamen merito inculpatur, eo quod male fide et opere diabolo servit, eius obsequiis se tradendo.¹⁸⁶

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(To be continued)

¹⁸⁶ *Mall. mal.*, P. II, Q. I, cap. 11; p. 329. In the official record of a series of witch trials held at Innsbruck in 1485, in which Institoris did not meet with his usual success in convicting the accused, owing to the steps taken by the intelligent bishop of Brixen, Georg Golser, against his dishonest unfair procedure, the inquisitor evidently did not have opportunity to examine the methods used by one of the accused women to bring on a storm she was charged with causing (H. Amman, "Der Innsbrucker Hexenprocess von 1485", *Zeitschr. des Ferdinandeums für Tirol und Vorarlberg*, Dritte Folge, Heft 34 [1890], 17).

DANTE'S IDEA OF THE SENSIBLE APPEARANCE OF SPIRITS BEYOND THE GRAVE

ALL through Dante's journey in the other world we are made aware of the difference between his living flesh and blood and the forms of the beings whose despair, remorse, pain, hope and joy he witnesses. There are few exceptions to this, and those in the *Inferno* only. Even there it is after he follows Virgil into the boat of Flegias that the little craft seems laden.¹ There he passes over shades, placing his foot upon the emptiness that a moment before had seemed a human form.² The souls in Purgatory draw back from one whose breathing and shadow prove him still in the body.³ When he would embrace his friend Casella he finds his arms folded on his own breast. He wonders, too, at the capacity for physical suffering in those whom he knows to be separated from the body.

At last one of them tells him that the soul, released from the flesh, finds itself, with memory, intelligence and will at their keenest, either by Acheron, destined to hell, or at the mouth of Tiber awaiting the voyage to the mountain of Purgatory. Whether on one or other shore, the power of the soul is such that it there impresses itself on the neighboring air, and forms in it a new shape in the likeness and size of the living members. This aerial form surrounds the soul and follows it as the flame follows the fire wheresoever it moves. As by its means the soul is rendered visible it is called a shade, and by it the soul has all the organs of sense, even sight. So the souls may speak and laugh, or utter the sobs and sighs so audible on the steep ascent. The shade, in short, adapts itself to the desires and emotions of the soul.⁴

This passage is often dismissed by commentators with a general statement to the effect that on this point Dante differs from Aquinas, and that he probably adopted this theory that he might

¹ *Inferno* VIII, 25-27.

² *Inferno* VI, 36.

³ *Purgatorio* II, 79-81.

⁴ *Purgatorio* XXV, 79-108.

make his readers realize the various souls encountered. The statement of Aquinas cited in defence of this position is in the *Summa*,⁵—"The soul separated from the body has no body whatever;" and this assertion, taken by itself, would seem to leave no room for discussion.

There is no shadow of evidence, however, that Dante consciously contradicted scholastic theology for any artistic purpose whatever. On the contrary it is to be noticed that he, who does not lightly change his protagonist, puts this explanation into the mouth of Statius, convert to Christianity, who thus for the time replaces Virgil, authority on shades if ever there was one, shades which have precisely the same characteristics as Dante's—with faces and hands, wounds and blood, yet intangible, for Aeneas finds Anchises nothing in his embrace, as Dante found Casella. Certainly early commentators like Buti and Alighieri are quite sure that this explanation is given to Statius because Christian belief may be more fittingly expounded by a Christian.

There have been various attempts to explain the difficulty. Scartazzini⁶ suggested that Dante took his device from Platonic notions derived through certain of the Fathers, Clement of Alexandria and Origen. Ozanam⁷ thought it safe to say Dante to give life to his poetry adopted a *via media*. He borrowed from St. Thomas the idea of the disembodied soul, which retains its intellectual powers in a keener state than ever. On the other hand, as poet and child of the Middle Ages he borrowed from Origen and St. Augustine the notion of the shade and of the intangible body.

Of later date is the explanation of the German Dantist, Vossler.⁸ "As philosopher Dante denied exactly with St. Thomas this conception of spiritual matter. Intelligible substances like angels or disembodied souls were by him conceived as immaterial. As poet, however, he clothes them with a shadowy body; but he ends by believing in the reality of such a poetic body, and has Statius explain in all seriousness the how and why of the phenomenon as if he were dealing with a fact."

⁵ Pt. III, Suppl. Qu. LXIX, art. 1. "Anima separata a corpore non habet aliquod corpus."

⁶ *Com. Lips. Purg.* XXV, 96.

⁷ M. A. F. Ozanam, *Dante et la philosophie catholique*, Pt. I, ch. III.

⁸ *The Divine Comedy*, I, ii, 5.

Within a year Mr. Wicksteed⁹ has attempted to show that Dante might well have derived his warrant for the notion in the well known belief of the Middle Ages in the device of making a waxen image of a man and then reducing him, by operation upon it, to wasting and death. From this analogy Mr. Wicksteed derives the possibility of a conception of matter which does not in any true sense form part of a man's body, and is yet so connected with him that acts done upon it will beget sensations in him, and so have effects upon his consciousness exactly similar to those which would be produced by things done to his own body. Mr. Wicksteed points out that S. Thomas makes use of this idea in one of his attempts to establish a connection between an immaterial spirit and material fire. "But," he adds, "the obvious further step forward that Dante makes was apparently too bold for him." (P. 224.)

Now so far from being a bold step forward, the notion of the shadowy body of the dead is as old as consciousness. An endless chain of ideas, longings, attempts at definition, fervid arguments, and ever more carefully restricted statements as to the conditions of the future life, stretches between the guesses of primitive man, perplexed by his dreams, and the fixed theological system of Aquinas.

Mr. Flinders Petrie tells of the Egyptian Ka,—“or will and consciousness of the person, coinciding with the sensations of the body, and therefore filling the exact form, but incorporeal.”¹⁰ Babylonian and early Jewish conceptions concerning the dead were closely associated with ancestor worship, but owing to the inability to “conceive the body without psychical functions or the soul without a certain corporeity . . . the departed were conceived as possessing a soul and a shadowy body.” But whereas the inhabitants of the Babylonian Sheol are naked “the more usual Hebrew view was that

⁹ *Dante and Aquinas*, Philip H. Wicksteed, 1913.

Since this paper was written an article has appeared in the current *Giornale dantesco* (vol. XXII, quad. I) in which Giovanni Busnelli devotes some space to the discussion of what he terms the *corpi fittisi delle anime*. Without elaborating the history of the idea, he indicates that the opinion has been held by various Fathers and Doctors of the church, and says—“San Tommaso ammette che gli spiriti possono assumere un corpo fittizio, e presentarlo in quella forma, palpabile o impalpabile, che lor talenta; perchè Dante . . . non avrebbe potuto estendere simil teorica agli spiriti umani?”

¹⁰ Hastings' *Cyclopaedia of Religions*, Art. *Egyptian Religion*.

the departed wore in shadowy guise the customary attire of earth."¹¹

The classic conception of the land of shades is a familiar one. Of course Orphic and Pythagorean ideas of judgment and retribution were complicated by metempsychosis. But as many years were supposed to elapse between each judgment and the return of the soul to a new body on earth, a shade, or something like it, was needed for the interim. As put by Plato in the *Phaedo* (108), the soul, hesitating to leave the lifeless frame, is borne away by its attendant genius to the place where other souls are gathered, and (113) they are embarked on the Acheron and afterwards plunged into the lake for purification. Nothing definite is said as to the vehicle in which a soul may be submerged into a very definite lake, but those in the highest life, who have duly purged themselves with philosophy, live henceforth altogether without the body, which would seem to imply some sort of a body during the lower stages. The same question arises in the *Gorgias* (243), where the souls wait judgment naked, stripped of clothing and body, but nevertheless in a definite place.

All through the sixth Aeneid Virgil shows himself Dante's master in the presentment of souls, vividly real, but whose shadowiness we are never allowed to forget. Charon is at once conscious that flesh and blood have entered his Stygian ship and he resents the burden.¹²

Later Jewish belief shows considerable variation. In the *Maccabees* the ideas are definite and literal, but after this, while some taught only a resurrection of the spirit others taught a resurrection of the body, but a body consisting of garments of glory or of light.

The Alexandrian Jews, influenced by Greek thought and convinced of the eternity of matter and also of its distinctly evil nature, not only denied the resurrection of the flesh, but some of them of any future body. The Slavonic Enoch teaches that the risen phenomena will be constituted of the divine glory.¹³ But according to Philo those souls so low-minded as to get themselves born at all might be "saved by a spiritual philosophy, by 'meditating, from the

¹¹ R. H. Charles, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, in Judaism and in Christianity*, pp. 34 n., 48.

¹² L. 391.

¹³ Charles, *ib.*, p. 252; *De Gigantibus*, 3. cit. Charles, *ib.*, p. 253.

beginning to the end on how to die to the life of the body in order to obtain incorporeal and immortal life in the presence of the uncreated and immortal God.'"

The earliest Christians while deeply convinced that their future existence would be in a body like that of the risen Christ, viewed the second advent as so near that they expected their living bodies to be changed into the likeness of Christ's glorious body. Their belief about those that were dead at Christ's coming was probably not unlike that expressed in Jewish documents of the first century A. D., namely, that the dead were to be raised with all their defects and deformities, even the clothes in which they were buried. This was in order that the dead might recognize each other, after which "the bodies of the righteous would be transformed with a view to a spiritual existence of unending duration and glory."¹⁴

But these beliefs involving the life after the second advent do not seem to have interfered with belief in the intermediate state and the activity of the departed in some sort of body. As might be expected, Christ's parable of Dives and Lazarus was accepted as a literal revelation of the condition of the soul.¹⁵ There we hear of two parts of the intermediate state visible each from each: there are apparitions recognizable, capable of pain or rest, owning a finger, a tongue. Even more significant is another passage in the same Gospel where Christ appears in the midst of the disciples who were terrified, thinking they saw a spirit. But they are reassured—"A spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have."¹⁶ There is also the passage where the damsel Rhoda sees St. Peter as he returns from prison, but the rest think she must have seen his angel.¹⁷ Now the appearances of angels, and demons, the forms seen in dreams and visions, the shapes raised by magicians and the *revenant* are all of the same nature. This is shown very clearly in St. Augustine's treatise *De Genesi*.

Gradually the hope of an immediate return of Christ to institute a kingdom of glory in which the faithful in glorified bodies were to share died away, and a new influence was felt—that of the

¹⁴ *Apocalypse of Baruch*, cit. Charles, pp. 280, 281.

¹⁵ St. Luke's Gospel, XVI, 19 ff.

¹⁶ XXIV, 39.

¹⁷ *Acts*, XII, 15.

Gnostics. Harnack calls Gnosticism "the acute secularizing of Christianity," but it is the influence of a Hellenism into which oriental ideas had penetrated. At the basis of Gnosticism is an oriental dualism, but when it recognizes in this corporeal and material world the true seat of evil, and when the object of salvation becomes the separation of the spiritual from the corporeal being, this is an outcome of the contrast in Greek dualism between spirit and matter, soul and body.

Now the Hellenic contrast between "spirit" and "flesh" could not become "completely developed in Christianity, because the belief in the bodily resurrection of Christ and the admission of the flesh into heaven, opposed to the principle of dualism a barrier which Paul neither knew nor felt to be necessary. The conviction as to the resurrection of the flesh proved the hard rock which shattered the energetic attempts to give a completely Hellenic complexion to the Christian religion."¹⁸

Gnostics rejected the "entire Christian eschatology, the resurrection of the body, and Christ's kingdom of glory upon earth."¹⁹ And "the doctrine of the incarnation, of the resurrection of the body, and of the creation of the Word, in time formed the boundary between the dogmatic of the church and Neo-platonism."²⁰ It is evident that the conception of matter as essentially evil is incompatible with belief in the resurrection of the body, and Marcion (*fl.* A. D. 139) held that the *good* God delivers only the souls, not the bodies of believers.²¹

There was of course abundant opposition to Gnosticism. Controversy raged on both sides, until Origen's brilliant genius "welded together ecclesiastical Christianity and Greek culture into a system of theology which was completely heterodox."²²

Origen believed that all spirits will be finally rescued and glorified, each in the form of individual life, in order to serve a new epoch of the world where sensuous matter disappears of itself. Here he rejects all sensuous eschatological expectations. He ac-

¹⁸ Adolph Harnack, *History of Dogma*, tr. Neil Buchanan, I, pp. 230 n., 240; *ib.*, I, p. 331.

¹⁹ Harnack, I, p. 261.

²⁰ *Ib.*, p. 360.

²¹ *Ib.*, p. 272.

²² *Ib.*, II, p. 346.

cepted the formula "resurrection of the flesh" (St. Jerome says he did not), only because it was contained in the doctrine of the church; but on the strength of *I. Cor.* XV, 44 ("It is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body. There is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body,") he interpreted it as the rising of the "corpus spiritale which will lack all material attributes and even all the members that have sensuous functions and which will beam with radiant light like angels or stars."²³

In the first days of Christianity the conception of an aerial body assumed immediately after death had been a harmless aid towards realizing the continued existence of the dead. Now this conception threatened to take the place of the belief in a future glorified resurrection body like that of Christ. And the reason for the substitution lay in the dualistic theory that redemption meant the deliverance of the soul from matter. The body, as matter, was to be despised as having no part in immortality.

"The moral philosophy accompanying these views of redemption was dominated by the false estimate of sensuousness, and assumed a double form, (*Iren.* III, 15, 2), either a strict ascetic abstinence (*Iren.* I. 24. 2. *Hipp. Ref.* V: 9, p. 170. *Pist. Soph.*, pp. 250, 254f), or a lax carnality, confident that nothing could harm these favored ones, with scornful criticism of the strict morality of the church."²⁴ It is interesting to note here that the results of such dualism and scorn of the body among Neo-platonists, Gnostics, Albigenses and even predestinarian Puritans are strikingly alike.

It is not difficult to believe that the working out of such a notion produced deplorable results, and practical men were forced to fight it. As we have seen, one most powerful weapon was the insistence upon the elevation of the body by emphasizing its share in immortality. Any notion of an aerial body was dangerous, so there were many arguments for the literal correspondence of the present and future bodies. But it was St. Jerome who laid down the position in vitriolic controversy, and "fixed the belief of churchmen on the points he deals with . . . for more than a thousand years."²⁵

²³ Harnack, II, p. 378.

²⁴ *Textbook of the History of Doctrine*, Reinhold Seeberg, tr. A. E. Hay, I, pp. 97, 98.

²⁵ *St. Jerome*, ed. and trans. W. H. Fremantle.

In his treatise to Pammachius against John of Jerusalem (c. A. D. 397), he develops the distinction between the resurrection of the body and the resurrection of the flesh which at first sight seems mere hair splitting. But "resurrection of the body" might very well mean an ethereal or aerial body: "resurrection of the flesh" is unequivocal. John of Jerusalem is accused of speaking nine times of the resurrection of the body but not once of the resurrection of the flesh. St. Jerome wrangles on for pages, quoting Origen's arguments against a sensuous resurrection, and asserting that Origen taught that a different body, spiritual and ethereal, is promised us.

"The true confession of the resurrection declares that the flesh will be glorious, but without destroying its reality. And when the Apostle says, this corruptible and mortal, these words denote this very body, that is to say the flesh that was then seen. But when he adds that it puts on incorruption and immortality, he does not say that that which is put on, that is the clothing, does away with the body, which it adorns in glory . . . we wish not to be stripped of the flesh, but to put on over it the vesture of glory." He quotes from the book of Job ("Yet in my flesh shall I see God"), and says—"I shall be clothed in my skin. What mention do we find here of an ethereal body? What of an aerial body like to breath and wind?"

That the question was of intense interest and that it was only with a struggle that the faithful reconciled themselves to a period of absolutely disembodied existence is shown in the correspondence of St. Augustine. One Evodius²⁶ writes to St. Augustine (A. D. 414)—"I ask whether there may not be some kind of body (formed perchance, of one of the four elements, either air or ether) which does not depart from the incorporeal principle, that is, the substance properly called the soul, when it forsakes this earthly body. For as the soul is in its nature incorporeal, if it be absolutely disembodied by death there is now one soul of all that have left this world. . . . There is no question that souls which are held in definite places (as that rich man was in the flames, and that poor man was in Abraham's bosom) are held in bodies. If there are distinct places, there are bodies, and in these bodies the soul resides, and even although the punishments and rewards are experienced in

²⁶ *Letters of St. Augustine*, tr. J. G. Cunningham, Letter CLVIII.

the conscience, the soul which experiences them is nevertheless in a body. . . .

"For the angels themselves if they were not membered by bodies of some kind could not be called many. . . . Again it is certain that Samuel was seen in the body when he was raised at the request of Saul." Evodius speculates whether it may not be possible that, the dead body being without heat, the soul takes the heat with it and makes its new body out of the element of fire. "It would greatly distress me," he says, "to think that the soul after death passes into a state of torpor, being as it were buried, just as it is during sleep while it is in the body, living only in hope, but having nothing and knowing nothing, especially if in its sleep it be not even stirred by any dreams. This notion causes me very great horror, and seems to indicate that the life of the soul is extinguished by death. . . . That the soul cannot exist in absolute separation from a body of some kind is proved in my opinion by the fact that to exist without the body belongs to God alone."

Twenty-five years earlier Augustine had discussed with another friend²⁷ "a question often agitated between us, and which left us agitated, breathless and excited: concerning a body or kind of body which belongs perpetually to the soul and which is called by some its vehicle." At that time he left the matter open, saying it is beyond the province of the intellect and of the senses as well. Now he is older and in correspondence with St. Jerome, whose fulmination against the whole idea had been written. Moreover the last argument of his younger friend tastes of heresy. Origen had taught strongly that God only is incorporeal. So now St. Augustine answers the question very differently.²⁸ The matter is very complex, and for complete solution requires more time and attention than he has to spare. "My opinion, however, if you are willing to hear it, summed up in a sentence is, that I by no means believe that the soul in departing from the body is accompanied by another body of any kind." Notwithstanding this assertion he cannot resist going on to discuss the fact that there are "things which, while not material bodies, do nevertheless resemble the forms, properties and motions of material bodies," and admits, "I am wholly unable to ex-

²⁷ Letter XIII.

²⁸ Letter CLIX.

plain in words how these semblances of material bodies without any real bodies are produced." Evodius may have taken comfort in this especially as he is also told "while it is free to everyone to believe or disbelieve these statements, every man has his own consciousness at hand as a teacher by whose help he may apply himself to this most important question."

Indeed while St. Jerome threw himself heart and soul into the question of the resurrection of the flesh, St. Augustine never ceased to be troubled by the problem. In his exposition of *Genesis* (XII: 33) he discusses the appearances seen in dreams and visions. In the *City of God* (XXI: 10) it puzzles him to arrange incorporeal devils in corporeal fire: "Unless" he says, "as learned men have thought, the devils have a kind of body made of that dense and humid air which we feel strikes us when the wind is blowing." Again in the treatise on the Trinity (Book III) he finds it very hard to keep angels absolutely incorporeal and yet visible on earth. "I confess however, that it reaches further than my purpose can carry me to inquire whether the angels, secretly working by the spiritual quality of their body abiding still in them, assume somewhat from the inferior and more bodily elements, which being fitted to themselves, they may change and turn like a garment into any corporeal appearances they will, and those appearances themselves are real, as real water was changed by our Lord into real wine."

Now if St. Augustine with all the dangers of the teaching of an aerial body before his mind found it hard to discuss these things in the abstract, it was all the more difficult to dispense with the conception after Gnosticism ceased to be a practical issue and the ultimate resurrection of the flesh was universally accepted. It was most natural that in discussions of the angels and of the intermediate state the earlier notion should be used for working purposes. So by the beginning of the seventh century Isidore of Seville (Sent. X. I. x.) taught—"The angels assume the bodies in which they appear to men from the upper air and put on a solid appearance from the celestial element by which they may more manifestly be discerned by obtuse men."

In 688 a bishop, Julian of Toledo, in his *Prognosticon Futuri Seculi* (II: 16) offers this proposition:

"That the soul may have the similitude of a body and in the same corporal similitude experience rest and endure torments." And the interesting thing is that he cites St. Augustine in support of his opinion, quoting the passage in the *Genesis* relating to figures in dreams. He is evidently more impressed by St. Augustine's constant speculation than by his occasional negation.

The same thing is true of Peter Lombard (c. A. D. 1150) who in his *Book of Sentences* (IV, Dis. XLIV, 7) raises the question as to whether sinners between death and judgment can feel material fire. Having, like every one else, instanced Dives and Lazarus in confirmation of the fact that they can, he goes on—"especially when Augustine teaches that the human soul has the similitude of a body, saying this on *Genesis*, XII, 33—Whosoever refuses to declare that the soul may have the similitude of a body and the bodily members altogether might deny that it is the soul which seems in slumber to walk, to sit down, etc." Now this is exactly the passage cited by Julian of Toledo. Truly things had come Evodius' way at last. Posterity certainly thought that Augustine taught some sort of a body for the interim between death and judgment.

Now we come to the position of Thomas Aquinas. He makes the very positive statement quoted above, that the soul separated from the body has no body whatever²⁹ on the authority of the very book of St. Augustine which Julian and Peter Lombard had quoted on the other side. In another place³⁰ he quotes Peter Lombard and explains him away by saying that it is not to be understood that the separated soul has in reality the similitude of a body or of bodily members . . . but feels only by way of apprehension, intellectual or imaginative. This is very plausible, but whether Peter Lombard would have recognized himself in the explanation is another question.

As a matter of fact the explanation did not altogether satisfy St. Thomas himself. He must needs assign the souls to definite localities, and he feels called upon to explain how a disembodied spirit can be confined in definite space. So he works it out that there are two ways in which the soul is united to the body.³¹ First, as the

²⁹ *Summa* III, Sup. LXIX, 1.

³⁰ *Sent.* IV, *Exp. tex.*

³¹ *Supplement* LXX, 3.

form to the matter: and this he says, cannot be the method in which the spirits of men or demons are fastened to the flames. Second—the soul may be in the matter as the motor to the mobile (*alio modo sicut movens mobili*). He admits that fire could not ordinarily so hold a spirit, but thinks that hell fire is specially endowed as the instrument of the divine vengeance.

It is not surprising that St. Thomas should be so concerned to disavow all notion of a spiritual body. The old foe had lately raised its head. He was a Dominican, and his master, St. Dominic had been one of the most effective instruments in the suppression of the Albigensian heresy. And the Albigensians were essentially dualists, pushing the notion of the evil of matter and of the body as matter to its extreme point.

His position repeats that of St. Augustine and has much the same reason behind it. His definite statements are all against the aerial body, but like Augustine he is perplexed by ghosts and by the apparitions raised by conjurers. He cannot deny that souls have been seen by the living, but concludes that the effect may be produced by good spirits or bad for the edification or deception of mankind, thereby complicating the matter with the same difficulty in which Augustine had floundered:—in what had the appearance of angels to men consisted?

Dante was not unaware of the long quarrel. In the *Convito* II: ix he says: "We witness unbroken experience of our immortality in the divinations of our dreams, which might not be if there were not some immortal part in us; inasmuch as the revealer, whether corporeal or incorporeal, must needs be immortal if we think it out subtly (and I say 'whether corporeal or incorporeal' because of the difference of opinion which I find in the matter)."³² There is much concerning these diversities in the very book of St. Augustine cited by Julian of Toledo and by Peter Lombard. We have seen also that Aquinas wavered and explained away his own positiveness.

Now Dante uncompromisingly accepted the doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh after the day of judgment.

Each one shall find again his dismal tomb,

Shall reassume the flesh and his own figure. Inf. VI: 35, 36.

³² Tr. P. H. Wicksteed.

they shall return
Here with the bodies they have left above. Inf. X: 11, 12.

[Cato died in Utica], where thou didst leave
The vesture that will shine so, the great day. Purg. I: 74, 75.

And the implication in the *Paradiso*³³ is that only angels may now be seen as they will appear at the last judgment, for the saints will then have the completion of their bodies, identical with those in which they walked on earth, but glorified.

Moreover in Dante's day the Albigensian heresy was dying out and he had no reason to be acutely conscious of the opposition of dualism to this doctrine, or of the danger to it involved in the admission of the possibility of an aerial body. Why then should he have had any orthodox scruples about the use of a conception which he had no intention of extending beyond the state of the dead intermediate between death and judgment? It was certainly a conception backed by the ages and by exceedingly good ecclesiastical authority, and condemned by Aquinas only to have the force of the condemnation explained away.

That this interpretation of his attitude is not strained is shown by the annotations of Pietro Alighieri. He brings in support of the idea of an aerial body the passage of Peter Lombard cited above, dwelling on his reference to Dives and Lazarus. He also speaks of St. Augustine's opinion both in the *Genesis* and in the *City of God*. Finally he carries the war into the enemy's country by remarking triumphantly—"Thomas against the Gentiles about the end says—'Such spirits shall suffer then from corporeal fire by a sort of constriction (alligatio). For spirits can be tied to bodies, either as their form, as the soul is tied to the human body to give it life, or without being the body's form, as magicians by diabolic powers tie spirits to images. Much more by divine power may spirits under damnation be tied to corporeal fire; and this is an affliction to them to know that they are tied to the meanest creatures for punishment.' " It may be noted here that Dante himself says that the aerial body is assumed only after the soul has found its destination—"place there circumscribeth it." Here he is certainly perfectly in accord

³³ XXX, 43 ff.

with St. Thomas, who is forced to admit some sort of connection with corporeal things in order that a disembodied soul may be confined in definite place.

We may be permitted to doubt whether St. Thomas would have recognized his supposed championship of the aerial body any more than St. Augustine would have recognized himself in the explanations of Julian and Peter Lombard, or Peter Lombard in Aquinas' explanation of him. But we may consider that we have very good grounds for believing that Dante no more suspected himself of contradicting St. Thomas Aquinas than Julian of Toledo and Peter Lombard suspected themselves of going contrary to the opinion of the "distinguished doctor Augustine" to which they so confidently referred.

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EUSTORG DE BEAULIEU, A DISCIPLE OF MAROT

INTRODUCTORY

EUSTORG DE BEAULIEU is one of the lesser poets of the early Renaissance whose name, if known to us at all, is associated with Protestant song-books, such as the *Chansonnier Huguenot*. That he was a prolific writer of secular poetry equal in merit to that of men whose names are more familiar to us, has been overlooked by most historians of literature.

The late Duc d'Aumale considered Beaulieu the only poet of the Renaissance who could be compared with Clément Marot (*Bulletin du Bibliophile*, Oct. 1867, p. 456), while as recent and as competent a scholar as Ad. van Bever voices the same opinion when he says, "Eustorg de Beaulieu, que nous considérons comme le meilleur disciple de Clément Marot, mériterait mieux que l'oubli de ses compatriotes et l'indifférence des lettrés (*Poètes du Terroir*, vol. 1, p. 527)." Clément-Simon, a scholar thoroughly versed in the history and literature of the Limousin, says of our poet:

Eustorg de Beaulieu n'est connu que des seuls bibliophiles. Et encore ses ouvrages sont-ils devenus si rares que la plupart ne les ont jamais vus. Il mérite mieux que cette obscurité. Non par tout son bagage, mais par un choix assez copieux, il a sa place marquée dans l'école de Marot, dont il imite, souvent avec bonheur, l'élégant badinage. Il ne vaut pas Saint-Gelais, mais il n'est pas inférieur à Heroët, à La Borderie, à Fontaine, à Bouchet, à Scève, ni aux ennemis de Marot, les Sagon, les La Huetterie, etc. Quelque dévot de ces premiers poètes de la Renaissance devrait bien réimprimer au moins ses meilleurs morceaux. Il apparaît que M. James de Rothschild, amateur très éclairé et qui goûtait fort notre poète, avait rassemblé tous les matériaux pour rééditer ses œuvres avec une étude approfondie sur son talent et son caractère. Une mort prématurée a brisé ce projet. Espérons qu'il sera repris par un autre qui se gardera, cette fois, de reproduire, sans contrôle, les erreurs que nous venons de signaler.¹

¹ Clément-Simon, *Curiosités de la Bibliographie Limousine par un Bibliophile Corrèzien*, Limoges, 1905, p. 31. An edition of the kind desired by Clément-Simon is in preparation by the author of this study.

Beaulieu is not an innovator. Both in form and in subject-matter he follows closely the models of his predecessors. He differs from many of his contemporaries in the fact that he is not a Humanist. There are but few classical allusions in his works. On the other hand he can also be distinguished from his fellow poets by the scarcity of love themes in his verse. In spirit he is closely allied to Villon and Collerye, in form to the Rhétoriciens and Marot.

We find no mention of Beaulieu's name in the many enumerations of poets in the verse of his contemporaries. Calvin and Viret, the leaders of the Reformation, are the only men who seemed to have had extensive dealings with him and who have left records of these dealings. A very brief notice in the bibliographies of Du Verdier and La Croix du Maine, a somewhat fuller one in Colletet's *Vies*, a few rather misleading paragraphs in *La France Protestante*, and several short articles written within the last fifty years, are, in addition to the works of the poet, the main sources of information.

I. EARLY YEARS

Eustorg de Beaulieu was born at Beaulieu-sur-Ménoire. The exact date of his birth still remains unknown, but judging from the facts of his life and the contemporaries with whom he associated we suppose it must have been between the years 1495 and 1500. He was most probably of noble origin. In a book published by him in 1550, we find a dedication to Magdaleine de Beaulieu, his niece, whose mother, he tells us, was a sister of the lords of Turenne. It was not customary for those of noble blood to marry outside of their rank.²

² The volume referred to is the *Espinglier des Filles*, Basle, 1550. Henri Bordier, in *La France Protestante*, 2d ed., Paris, 1879, vol. ii, p. 32, says: "Vers les premières années du seizième siècle, naquit dans la famille des *Seigneurs* de Beaulieu un garçon que l'on nomma Eustorg, du nom d'un saint du pays. Il est à croire, d'après un acte de partage qui remonte à l'année 1467 (*Collection Gaignières*, Bibl. Nat. ms. fr. 22421, f° 179) que le père s'appelait Raymond; l'acte spécifie une échange entre Raymond seigneur de Beaulieu et son frère Jehan, seigneur de Lavau, concernant divers biens de la succession de Jehan de Beaulieu leur père." If one reads those acts carefully, it may easily be discovered that they can in no way apply to our poet. Clément-Simon, in the work mentioned above, says concerning this statement on the part of Bordier: "Ayant découvert à la Bibliothèque nationale un acte concernant des seigneurs de Beaulieu, fiefés en *Haut-Limousin* (ou plutôt en Périgord), au milieu du xv^e siècle,

There is no trace of Beaulieu's family in the records of his native town. All search in that direction has thus far been fruitless. Louis de Veyrières, a poet of repute, born in the same town of Beaulieu and an authority on its history, succeeded in unearthing a large number of obscure Eustorgs, but no connection can be established between them and our poet.³

Eustorg de Beaulieu was the youngest of seven children, three girls and four boys. His father died when he was yet a child, and one of his brothers, Jacques, not very long afterwards. We know that the name of another of his brothers was Jean. In one of Beaulieu's epistles we find the following verses which concern his family:

Vray est (seigneur) que iadis mon feu pere,
Après auoir sans meschant vitupere,
Vescu son aage, & des biens amassez,
Fut mis au renc des paoures trespassez
Sans faire aulcun testament ne ordonnance,
Des susdictz biens qu'auoit en sa puissance,
Et delaissa (par son mortel deffiz),
C'est assauoir, troys filles, & quatre filz,
Dont suis le moindre à peine de lamende,
Et le dernier de tous ceulx de la bende,

il a jugé à propos, on ne sait par quelle fantaisie, de les donner pour ancêtres au poète Eustorg, né trente ou trente-cinq ans plus tard à l'extrémité du *Bas-Limousin*. Il n'y a pas même, dans le titre en question, une adminicule qui puisse donner jour à cette pure supposition et l'observation la plus superficielle en montre l'inanité." Clément-Simon cites other acts by which these same lords are known (Parchemin original, Nexon, Haute-Vienne). They also show very clearly that there can be no relation between our poet and the lords of Beaulieu. Clément-Simon is inclined to think Beaulieu of the "petite bourgeoisie", because the registers of the town of Beaulieu have yielded no information.

³ Louis de Veyrières, author of the *Monographie du Sonnet*, Paris, 1869. His list includes:

5 mai 1513. Astorg de Beaulieu, le vieux, et Jean de Beaulieu, fils de Jean de Beaulieu.

1527. Astorg de Beaulieu, marchand.

The name "de Beaulieu" has been common in the Tiers-Etat since the thirteenth century. A Bernard de Beaulieu was consul in 1299. (From notes furnished by L. de Veyrières to Clément-Simon.) Cf. Deloche, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Beaulieu en Limousin* (Collection des Documents inédits), in-4°, 1859, which mentions the following: Sept., 1118, Eustorgius seu Austorgius episcopus Lemovicensis, etc.; 1106-1119, Privilegium Eustorgii episcopi de Cameriaci, etc.

Car ie n'auoye encore lict qu'ung berceau,
 Quand mon dict pere aualla le morceau
 Ou tous humains sont contraintz quoy qu'il couste.⁴

Upon his father's death a certain Pierre Amadon was appointed guardian to Eustorg and was made executor of his inheritance. As we shall see later, it was he who was responsible for its loss. Colletet states in his life of Beaulieu that:

Il perdit son père fort jeune comme il le dict en son vieux stylle dans une de ses épistres; (Car je n'avois encore lict qu'un berceau) et devenant bientost orphelin tout ensemble de père et de mère, qui se nommoit Jeanne de Bosredon; (O noble Jeanne, o Bosredon ma mere), il fut mis et ses frères dont il estoit le plus jeune avec ses sœurs entre les mains d'un tuteur qui, profitant laschement de cet avantage, joignit presque tous les biens de ses pupilles au siens propres, comme je l'apprends de la lecture d'une de ses épistres qu'il adresse à son rapporteur sur le subject d'un proces qu'il avoit au Parlement de Bordeaux où il demandait et reddition de compte et un nouveau partage avec ses cohéritiers.⁵

Beaulieu's mother died when he was young. Concerning her death he wrote the following rondeau.

O mort fascheuse & importune,
 Qui es a tous humains commune,
 Que ie suis contre toy despit
 Pource que n'as donné respit
 De viure plus de temps à une.
 Ou que i'eusse eu l'heure oportune
 Pour luy dire parolle a aulcune
 Ou croy qu'elle eust prins appetit,
 O mort fascheuse?

⁴ *Les Divers / Rapportz / Contenant Plusieurs / Rondeaux, Dixains, & Ballades / sur diuers propos, Chansons, Epi- / stres, / Ensemble une du coq a lasne*, etc. Lyon, Pierre de Sainte-Lucie, 1537. Small in-8v°, 150 ff., Epistre III, f° 70; Municipal Library of Versailles, fonds Goujet, n° 248. There is another copy of this edition in the library of the city of Troyes, but it is imperfect. A third copy is in the British Museum, Cat. Grenville, i, 65.

⁵ Colletet, *Vie d'Eustorg de Beaulieu, publiée d'après le manuscrit autographe de la bibliothèque du Louvre, Avec notes et appendice par P. Tamizey de Larroque*, Paris et Bordeaux, 1878.

Tuournes plustost que la lune
 Ne que la roue de fortune,
 Qu'aux ungs donne perte ou credit.
 Las que ne t'est il interdit
 De meurtrir chascun & chascune,
 O mort fascheuse?⁶

Such is the meagre account of Beaulieu's parentage and childhood which we gather from his poems. Other records yield no information at all. Beaulieu probably remained in his native town until he was able to provide for his own existence. He tells us that he taught music, but it cannot be discovered where he studied that art, nor where he first practiced it. He writes to a gentleman whose name is unknown:

Noble seigneur vostre grace permette
 De m'enuoyer mon petit manicorde,
 Car il conuient que sa leçon recorde
 Sur icelluy une jeune fillette.⁷

These music lessons, however, were neither very numerous nor very profitable, for our poet refers more than once to poverty and hardships. His allusions to that well-known malady of "faute d'argent" or of "plate bource" are too frequent and too vivid not to be autobiographical, as, for instance, in the following:

Vouldriez vous pire maladie
 (Voire & feust ce mesellerie)
 Que n'auoir maille ne denier?
 Et (qu'est pis) se veoir desmer
 Credit par tout à chère hardie?
 Pour iouer une momerie
 Telle que la *grand dyablerie*,
 Qui n'a argent en fait mestier,
 Vouldriez vous pire?⁸

Or again:

La bourse pleine ou d'or ou de monnoye,
 C'est le meilleur que ie soubhaiteroye,

⁶ *Div. Rap.*, Rond. 61, de la mort de la mere de Lauteur, f° 28, v°.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, Rond. 47, f° 22.

⁸ *Div. Rap.*, Rond. 28.

Car vignes, champs, boys, prez & heritages,
Mentent souuent à plusieurs personnages
Qui ont espoir d'y auoir gaing & proye.⁹

In 1522 we find Beaulieu in the town of Lectoure, in the old province of Armagnac, now the department of Gers.^{9a} He came to that town to occupy the position of organist of the Cathedral. Probably he was still there in 1524, judging from the title of one of his poems, "Sensuit le In Manus du Peuple sur le Deluge qu'il craignoit Iadis advenir, Lan mille cinq cens vingt & quatre."¹⁰

Emile Fage, another of Beaulieu's biographers, says in an article entitled "Eustorg de Beaulieu—Poète et Musicien du Seizième siècle" (*Bulletin de la Soc. des Lettres et Arts de la Corrèze*, 1880): "Il est à présumer que son voyage coïncide avec la fin de l'instance devant le parlement." This, however, was not until 1529. Clément-Simon, too, is inclined to reject the date given by Beauchamps. He says: "Nous n'avons pas la preuve du fait qui peut être exact, quoique le musicien fût encore bien jeune à cette date." The reason for this error on the part of Clément-Simon, who on the whole is absolutely trustworthy, is that he very probably did not consult the 1537 edition of the *Divers Rapports*. The 1544 edition which he used, and which is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, does not contain the two poems dated from Lectoure. In support of this supposition there is the following note of Clément-Simon: "L'administration de la Bibliothèque de Versailles ne communique cette rareté qu'avec toutes sortes de formalités rebutantes." The author of this study, however, had not only no difficulty in consulting the volume, but on the contrary met with the greatest courtesy on the part of the administration of the Versailles library.

In the "Pater de la Ville le Lectoure" we read:

⁹ *Op. cit.*, Rond. 50, f° 23, v°.

^{9a} This date was already noted by Beauchamps, one of his earliest biographers.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, f° 132 v°. The poem from which we get the first date (1522) is entitled "S'ensuit ung aultre Pater de la ville & Cite de Lectoure (en Armagnac) & Habitants dicelle, sur la Peste qui y regna, Lan mille cinq cens vingt & deux, estant Lauteur Organiste de Lesglise Cathedrale dicelle (f° 130)." Beauchamps, in his *Recherches sur les théâtres de France*, Paris, 1735, vol. I, p. 148, was the first to call attention to the date 1522. Tamisey de Larroque, in his notes to Colletet's *Vie*, thinks that it is difficult to reconcile this date with the extreme youth of the poet at the time.

Pater Noster qui d'une vierge munde
 Nasquis ça bas en cestuy mortel Monde,
 Ou as souffert mort pour nostre peche,
 Plaise toy Sire ou tout hault bien abonde,
 Auoir esgard a la dolleur profonde
 Dont le mien Peuple est surprins & tache
 Ton glayue (hellas) si fort la detrenche,
 Que presque toutz ia sont ensepueliz,
 Recoys les donq, toy *Qui es in celis*.

In this poem Beaulieu tells of the harrowing effects of the plague which ravaged the town in 1522. But this was not the only misfortune with which the inhabitants were threatened, for the following year it was prophesied that a flood would wipe out Lectoure.

Lan subsequent Mil cinq cens vingt & quatre,
 Il doibt venir, ains que lon faict bruyt,
 Ung grand Deluge, auquel seray destruit,
 Mais, ma famille a toy (sans rien rabatre)

Commendo. . .

'Au bon Noe tu as promis sans faulte
 Que n'aurions plus Deluge a laduenir,
 Dont te plaira de ce te souuenir,
 Veu que tu es (seul) en Mageste haulte

Deus veritatis

Et si tu fais que ainsi point ie ne meure
 Entre Poissons & Loups de Mer famiz,
 Ie te prometz que des maulx quay commis
 Porteray peyne, & suyuray sans demeure

Vias tuas Domine. . .

The tone of this poem can hardly be called very respectful!

In another of his poems Beaulieu mentions the name of Iehan Barton, who was bishop of Lectoure at the time that he was organist of the Cathedral.¹¹ Of this bishop we know the following:

Iohannes. II. Iohannes de Barton filius Bernardi vice comitis Monbasii, & Mariae de Sully, abbas commendatarius S. Augustini

¹¹ *Div. Rap.*, 1537, Sensuivent aulcuns Noms, & sur Noms tournez: Le 5, Iehan Barton, euesque de lectore. Arbre ente de ce que lon souhaicte.

Lemovicensis cessione Petri sui patruī ab anno 1501. nactus quoque *est possessionem episcopatus Lectorensis anno 1513. cedente altero patruo suo Guillelmo, cum jam fuisset consecutus titulum episcopi Atheniensis. Hic praesul antiquo ecclesiae choro restaurando diligenter incubuit.* Nec id satis fuit studio quo flagrabat erga domum Dei; nam ejusdem ecclesiae ruderibus reperta sunt antiqua marmora & inscriptiones. &c. Turbatus est Johannes in possessione hujus cathedrae anno 1529. Episcopatum tamen nunquam dimisit Johannes, & in ea dignitate mortuus est die 21 Septembris anno 1544. (*Gallia Christiana*, vol. I, columns 1085, 1086.)

There were three bishops of the Limousine house of Barton who occupied, successively, the bishopric of Lectoure from 1512-1569. and attracted to that town many of their compatriots. It was natural, therefore, that Jehan Barton, who was interested in music, should have called Beaulieu, already enjoying renown for his skill in that art, to the cathedral to fill the place of organist.

In a poem published in 1529 Beaulieu signs himself "prestre."¹²

II. MUSICIAN AND POET.—TULLE AND BORDEAUX

We now come to a period in Beaulieu's life about which we again know very little except from his works. It is necessary to feel our way carefully through the mass of undated material and try to retrace our author's foot-steps. He left Lectoure, then, not earlier than in 1524, as has already been shown in the preceding chapter. The next étape of which there is any certainty is the city of Tulle, but there is nothing in Beaulieu's poems to show whether he went there directly, or lingered in other places on his way. The *Divers Rapports* contains many poems addressed to prominent personages of Tulle, and in more than one of these poems Beaulieu speaks of his having resided there.¹³

¹² "Gestes des solliciteurs." We shall speak of this poem in a later chapter. He was probably simply the holder of a "bénéfice".

¹³ Bordier, in his article on Beaulieu, in *La France Protestante*, 2d ed., Paris, 1884, says: "Il ne s'y tint guère (referring to Beaulieu's sojourn in Lectoure, 1522), il est vrai, car l'année d'après il était à Tulle, enrôlé dans la bazoché. Mais en feuilletant les recueils de vers qu'il publia plus tard, et qui sont la principale source où se puissent découvrir les détails de sa vie, rien ne témoigne de son zèle pour l'étude de jurisprudence, tandis que plusieurs pièces le montrent bazochien joyeux, versifiant pour les fêtes publiques, pour le théâtre, et pour l'amour." There is no reason to believe that Beaulieu came to Tulle in 1523,

From one of his rondeaux we learn that Beaulieu taught music in Tulle. Perhaps his reputation as a musician preceded him, and he was therefore offered lessons in some of the prominent families of the city. This particular rondeau is addressed to the brother of a young lady of Tulle who was his pupil:

Francillon, ne faict que penser
(Plus que de s'aller confesser)
A la lecon de lespinette,
Et ne peult dormir la fillette,
Tant elle y pense sans cesser.

Elle y vacque plus qu'a danser,
Car faict (en honneur) temps passer
Ce doulx ieu que scavoir souhaite
Francillon.

Elle ne faict que commencer,
Mais s'elle ne s'en veult lasser,
(Sans trop fort se y rompre la teste)
En ce ieu tant beau & honneste,
On fera maitresse passer
Francillon.¹⁴

Beaulieu's good fortune does not seem to have been of very long duration. In a ballad entitled "Ballade mise en ung tableau à la porte de la maison d'une Chapelle qu'il a en la ville de Tulle, intitulée la paoreté,"—he admits that he was confined in that asylum for the destitute and the debauched. Unfortunately it seems that his case does not come under the first category.

Salut a vous tous peruers & iniques,
Chaulx & lubriques, tant ecclesiastiques
Que mecaniques, & nobles, & villains,
Iouers, trompeurs, & remplis de trafficques,

for there is no documentary evidence to prove it. On the other hand, we have the *In Manus* referred to in the preceding chapter, which tells of the deluge predicted at Lectoure in 1524, and it is only reasonable to suppose that Beaulieu was still there when he wrote about it.

¹⁴ *Div. Rap.* f° 32 v°, "le octantiesme rondeau, envoye de par Lauteur au frere dune ieune Dame de la ville de Tulle en Lymosin, pour lors son escoliere." (This rondeau is really the seventieth.)

De ces cronicques notez bien les rubriques
 Tresautenticques & iurez tous les saintz,
 Qu'ung iour (mal sains) m'apporterez les grains
 Prins par voz mains es champs d'iniquité,
 Iusques à lhuy de ceste paoureté.

Braues, bragardz, couuers de mirelifiques,
 Sotz fantastiques suyans voyes obliques,
 Folz lunatiques & tous foybles des reins,
 Apres vos faictz et gestes impudiques,
 Vaines praticques & moyens falcifiques,
 Dyabolicques, & trop plus que inhumaines,
 Venez aumoins veoir là où ie remains,
 Et de voz gaings portez la cothité
 Iusques à lhuy de ceste paoureté.

Prince prodigue, aulcuns folz trop haultains
 Pres & loingtains, sont tous seurs & certains
 D'estre contrainctz venir par equité
 Iusques à lhuy de ceste paoureté.¹⁵

Here again we find Bordier in error. First he reads *paoureté* instead of *paoureté*! He speaks of the house as: "chapelle ou abbaye pour rire et pour boire qu'improvisaient volontiers les bazochiens et autres étudiants en vue d'alimenter leurs jeux avec l'argent des bons bourgeois." It is difficult to see how he came to so misinterpret the lines. This chapel, far from being a place for drinking and laughter, was the chapel of a vicarage called the *Pau-reté*, an annex to the asylum for the poor of Tulle. It figures in the *Pouillés*, and is known by many acts.

Among the poems written in Tulle is a rondeau which our poet addresses to the women of that city: "De la grace, & gestes des Filles de la ville de Tulle,"¹⁶ and a ballad entitled "A la louenge des filles de la ville de Tulle," in which he declares that to see beautiful women one must go to that city, for

Ville à lentour ny a, ne la, ne ailleurs,
 (De sa grandeur) ou ayt plus de fillage,

¹⁵ *Div. Rap.*, f° 58. On the relation of this ballad to Rabelais, "Inscription mise sus la grande porte de Theleme," a note is to appear presently by the author of this study in the *Revue du seizième siècle*.

¹⁶ *Div. Rap.*, f° 35.

Belle assez, de ce soiez tous seurs,
 Et si ont grace en leur parler ramage,
 Et chantent bien (ie dis) selon l'usage
 De leur pays, mais vous debuez noter
 Que qui les hante y pense s'il est sage,
 Car tel se y prend qui ne s'en peult oster.¹⁷

In another poem he appears as champion of the city, ardently defending its virtue. In answer to those who claim that its sole product is turnips, he says:

Et si tu dis qu'il n'a que montz & vaulx
 En Lymosin, & ny croist que Naueaulx,
 Raues, & Glan, & que entre ces montaignes
 N'a bled, ne vin, ne fruict que des Chastaignes
 On prouuera si ne le veult nyer,
 Par elle mesme, & monsieur le premier,
 Qu'entre ces boys, ces montz, & ces vallées,
 On fait souuent de bonnes assemblées,
 Et y fine on de bons vins & morceaulx,
Car raues sont pour nourrir les pourceaulx,
 Chastaignes, Glan, & semblable dragée.¹⁸

Beaulieu assures the recipient of the above epistle that the country is very fertile, and above all he praises the honesty of the Limousins and the kindness of the residents of Tulle. In the same poem he enumerates the various kinds of fish to be found in Tulle:

Comme Saulmons, Lamproyes, & Barbeaulx,
 Carpes, Brochetz, non point de Macquereaulx,
 De Lymassons, de Chancres, ne Escreuisses,
 Car nous laissons cels pour les nourrisse.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, la 12^e ballade, f° 60.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, La seconde Epistre, f° 68 v°. Cf. Claude Bigothier's *Rapina seu Raporum encomium*, 1540. Dr. J. L. Gerig, in an article on Barthélemy Aneau (*Romanic Review*, vol. 1, p. 194), paraphrases Bigothier when he writes: "To what does Aneau owe these exceptional powers? The answer is only too obvious, says Bigothier, it is merely because he eats turnips! We may be astonished at such an answer, but all our doubts are dispelled when Bigothier informs us that the protector of the turnip is Apollo, the same God who protects learning!" Cf. J. de Boysson, *Carmina*, fol. 52, Elegia n° XLIV.

Non desunt fontes, non desunt dulcia vina.
 Castaneae non desunt, non pira, poma, nuces; . . .

Furthermore he informs us that he has a house not far from the home of a daughter of one of his friends, and complains to this gentleman, Saint-Simon, that the young lady, who was his pupil, fails to visit him:

Sachez seigneur que celle Marguerite
De ta semence engendrée & produicte,
Nagueres vint nous voir en Lymousin,
T'aduertissant que ie suis son voysin,
Et n'a despace à une maison sienne
Plus de troys pas à une qui est mienne.¹⁹

It was during his residence in Tulle that Beaulieu began to sue for his inheritance. In the above mentioned epistle he writes to Arnoul, "seigneur de saint Symon, au pays de Xaintonge, & conseiller du roy nostre sire, en sa court de Parlement à Bordeaux":

Dont vouldroye bien que Bordeaux fust remis
Au lieu de Tulle, ou Tulle proprement
Fust ung Bordeaux ou fust le parlement,
Pour & affin que fisse aulcun seruice
A la susdicte, & mieulx mes proces visse.

Elsewhere he gives Arnoul the description of his family, which has been cited in the preceding chapter, and goes into the details of his law-suit. Beaulieu entreats his counsellor above all to be just:

Pource supplie ie Eustorg de Beaulieu,
Ce sac duquel, & proces, as en garde,
Que bien au long tes clers yeulx les regarde,
Mais que ce soit au nom de Dieu en bref,
Pour en iuger sans faire tort ne grief
A moy n'a aultre, ains me faces iustice,
Mais de cela ne fault que t'aduertisse,
Car n'as le bruyt de faire aulcunement
Contre raison aulcun faulx iugement,
Et de pieça on t'en donne la fame
Dont as acquis los, en lieu de diffame.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, f° 68 v°.

Te plaise (doncq) escouter & noter
Ce qu'a present te scauray racompter.²⁰

After the death of Beaulieu's father and elder brother, another brother of his wished to find out what part of the inheritance would fall to him. This was arranged according to the law, and he was finally allotted his share. As our poet was but a child at the time, the magistrate put him under the care of a guardian, who, however, helped to squander his share of the patrimony.

Or lors voyant le iuge ma saison,
Qui pas n'estoit d'user de grand raison,
Si me bailla dessoubz la charge & cure
D'ung curateur, qui n'en eust pas grand cure,
Et de mon bien ne print aucun esmoy,
Ne aux lotz partis ne choysit onc pour moy,
Comme i'entendz prouuer par mon enqueste,
Dont de la veoir te fais humble requeste.

A certain Jehan Coste, however, a relative of Beaulieu, tried to prove that the poet's mother and a person by the name of Lavadour were given the custody of Eustorg. He himself maintains, however, that these assertions are false.

Ce qui est faulx, & la raison est telle,
Car il produyct, & ie produys aussi,
L'acte du faict disans sans cas ne si,
Que vrayement le iuge de Turenne
Ordonna (seul) ung bachelier qui regne
Et vit encor, pour estre mon guydon,
Lequel a nom maistre Pierre Amadon,
Et l'instrument, aussi, dudict partaige
Ne nomme aucun que ce seul personnage,
Lequel (sans plus) le iuge decreta
Mon curateur, qui mal sen acquita.

Since, at the time of the division of the inheritance, all the shares were somewhat confused, the judge assigned the seventh part, which

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, "La tierce Epistre, en forme de Raisons de Droict iadis enuoyee de par Lauteur, audict seigneur de Saint Symon, son rapporteur en ung proces qu'il auoit à Bordeaux" (f° 70).

belonged to the deceased brother, to Beaulieu's mother. To this part Beaulieu makes no claim. It is for the sixth share that he contends. His part also contained the inheritance of his sister—for these two shares were in the same parcel; and the poet therefore asks for a new division, so that each heir might receive the exact amount allotted. This complicated transaction is expressed as follows:

Car au partage estant tout barbouillé,
Fut par edit du iuge lors baillé
A noble Jehanne de Bosredon ma mere,
Le part septiesme au bien de mon feu frere,
Laquelle part ie ne querelle point,
Et ne veulx rien, pource note bien ce point.²¹

Beaulieu does not deny that before the final division of the patrimony, he sold a part of his share in his own name, but he protests that the sale was invalid for the following reasons:

Premierement cest pource que iamais
Nul payement n'en euz ie te prometz,
Secondement pource que (quoy qu'on die)
Lachapteur oncq n'en iouyst de sa vie,
Car ma partie auoit par griefz & tortz
La piece encor, que ie vendis alors
Et la tenoit, voire encor la possede
Contre raison dont par trop il excede.
Et tiercement le iuge de Beaulieu
Ne s'enquist point si i'auoys fait ce ieu
Et ceste vente à mon desaduantage,
Combien qu'il sceust que i'estoys mineur d'aage.
Le point quatriesme est que sans mon recteur
Ie feiz tel vente & sans mon curateur,
Qui est le point, lequel seul doit souffire

²¹ *Op. cit.*, f° 72. In Bordier's article we read: "Cette même année il ententa un procès à sa famille en rescision du précédent partage. Ce n'est point à sa louange, car il se fondait sur ce que l'un de ses frères étant mort, on devrait diviser l'hoirie paternelle en six parts, tandis qu'on en avait fait sept à fin d'en laisser une à la mère." It is difficult to see anything in the poem which implies a hostile attitude on the part of Beaulieu toward his mother. He plainly states that he does not lay claim to the share allotted to her.

Pour replicquer à ceulx qu'ont voulu dire
 Qu'a moy *prouiso*, non *detur prouiso*,
 Car pour certain quand *ad ce, beneficio*
 Que ma partie oncq ne monstrera lettre,
 En tout son sac, ou il face apparoistre
 Que maistre Pierre Amadon, curateur
 De moy mineur, fusse oncq acceptateur,
 Ne consentant que feisse une telle vente,
 Car sa personne estoit bien absente.
 Doncq, tel contract ne peult, comme tu scaiz
 Trop mieulx que moy, rien nuyre à mon proces. . . .

It is gratifying to learn, after following all these intricate legal proceedings and discussions, that Beaulieu won his case. In an epistle addressed to Bernard de Lahet, "aduocat du Roy, en sa court de Parlement, à Bordeaux," he expresses his thankfulness for all the favors the latter bestowed upon him, and for the great interest he took in his law-suit. To Saint Simon, thanks to whom his suit met with success, he expresses gratitude in the following manner :

Qu'en mon proces fut commis rapporteur,
 Dont, grace à Dieu i'eus par son raport heur,
 Car me garda, sans faueur ne malice,
 Tresbien mon droit, en forme de iustice.²²

Our poet was apparently on very friendly terms with his solicitor, for in the above epistle he asks Lahet whether he is still as fond of the organ and of the spinet as he used to be, and reminds him of the times when, instead of going to sleep, he would take a book of songs and spend half of the night in singing together with him. According to Beaulieu, Lahet was a great patron of music. As an indication of the wealth and generosity of the lawyer, Beaulieu men-

²² *Div. Rap.*, f° 66. For Bernard de Lahet and Nicolas Arnoul, consult the *Histoire du Parlement de Bordeaux*, 1878, vol. I, p. 79. Cf. also, Fleury Vindry, *Les Parlementaires français au xvi^e siècle*, Paris, 1910, vol. II, Part I, p. 124: "Bernard de Lahet, avocat général au Parlement de Bordeaux. Il était étudiant à Toulouse en 1514, lecteur en 1516, avocat du roi à l'amirauté de Guyenne de 1521 à 1529, avocat général au Parlement de Bordeaux de 1529 à 1560. Il est mort en 1562 à Bordeaux"; p. 165, "Nicolas Arnoul, fils de Guy Arnoul et de Marguerite de Souhzmoulins, conseiller au Parlement de Bordeaux dès 1519, mort en août 1548."

tions the fact that throughout the famine of 1529, good cheer did not cease to reign in his house:

C'estoit, en lan mil cinq cens vingt & neuf,
Qu'ung pain d'ung liard n'estoit plus gros qu'ung oeuf,
Voire, ne fut cent ans auant cherté
Telle qu'alors ne si grand poureté.
Ce nonobstant, à tes coustz & despens,
Tu tins maison ouuerte, à plusieurs gens.
L'en suis tesmoings qui ne le puis nyer. . . . (*Epistre premiere.*)

Among Lahet's protégés was the famous musician Janequin:

Et pour plus estre à la musique enclin
Tu t'acointois Clement Iennequin,
Et d'autres mains, tous gens d'experience
Et ou gisoit musicalle science.²³

This little glimpse into the economic conditions of the time is both interesting and valuable. The *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris sous le Règne de François I^{er}*, contains the following remarks concerning this famine:

Audict an mil cinq cens vingt neuf, le dimanche xxv* avril après Pasques, y eust à Lyon grande mutinerie, à cause de la charté des bledz qui y estoit auparavant par l'espace plus de trois mois et environ(dans) la ville, tellement que le bichet de bled, mesure de Lyon, valloit huict solz, dont les huict bichetz vallent environ un septier à la mesure de Paris. . . . Ceste année mesmes les bledz furent aussi fort chers en Italie, asçavoir à Gennes et à Milan, là où ilz vallurent plus de douze ducatz le septier, à la mesure de Paris, et plus de vingt ducatz à Rome. Et à Paris et partout le royaume de France furent pareillement fort chers, mesmement à Paris, là où ilz vallurent de quatre à cinq livres le septier.²⁴

A further reference to this famine is contained in another poem of Beaulieu's, entitled "Sensuit ung aultre, In Manus, du Peuple

²³ For Janequin cf. Eitner, *Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker u. Musikgelehrten*, Leipzig, 1900. Also Guy Lefèvre de La Borderie, in his *Galliede ou De la révolution des Arts et Sciences*, fol. 125 r°. Bibl. Nat. Rés. Y°. 519.

²⁴ Bourrilly, *Le Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, Paris, 1910, pp. 322, 323.

qui mourut par la grand Famine, qui regna tout lan Mil cinq cens vingt & neuf, mesmement au Pays de Guyenne." He says that during the year

Soixante Solz couste ung Boisseau Dauoyne,
Et quatre Escus ung de Seigle ou Froment.²⁵

From Tulle Beaulieu went to Bordeaux, where his law-suit was so successfully tried. In 1529 he published in that same city the *Gestes des Solliciteurs*, a lengthy poem describing the abuses of courts of justice. A large part of the poem is undoubtedly no more than an account of his own experiences, somewhat exaggerated, perhaps, but not at all improbable. This is the first published work from the pen of our poet, and the second French book to be printed in Bordeaux.²⁶ The work must have enjoyed great popularity for it went through three editions within eight years. Apparently an exposure of graft and bribery interested the public then quite as much as it does today!

The following year, in all probability, he published another volume, a sequel to the first, entitled *Sensuyt le Pater et Aue des Solliciteurs de proces Surnommez bateurs de paue de credit souuent repoulsez*.²⁷ This poem, like its companion, has quotations from

²⁵ *Div. Rap.*, f° 133 v°.

²⁶ *Les Gestes des Solliciteurs / Ou les lisans pourront cognoistre / Quest ce de solliciteur estre / Et qui sont leurs reformateurs*. Small in-4° goth., of 10 ff. On the second folio we read: *Les gestes des solliciteurs composez par maistre Eustorg de Beaulieu, prestre*. At the end of the volume: *Imprime a Bourdeaux le vingt et troisieme jour de aoust l'an mille cinq cens xxix, par Jehan Guyart, imprimeur*. . . . Cf. Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*, art. Beaulieu, and the catalogue Armand Bertin, n° 405, sold for 60 fr. The copy belonged to the Audenot library. It is described in the *Tablettes du bibliophile de Guyenne*, vol. I, Bordeaux, 1869. Cf. also Picot, *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque Rothschild*, vol. I, n° 518, etc.

For Jean Guyart, see Delpit, *Origines de l'imprimerie en Guyenne*, Bordeaux, 1869, p. 25. It was thought that Guyart was the first printer of Bordeaux, but Delpit proved that Gaspard Phillipe held that honor.

There was a second edition of the *Gestes* in 1530, and a third in 1537. Cf. *Cat. Rothschild*, n° 518, 519. The edition of 1537 belonged to the library of Desbarreaux-Bernard of Toulouse, and was sold to James Rothschild for 305 francs. For the complete text of the *Gestes*, consult Harvitt, *ROMANIC REVIEW*, vol. II, No. 3.

²⁷ This volume bears neither place nor date. It is an in-4° goth., of 4 ff. It is described in Brunet, and in the *Dictionnaire des anonymes* (Barbier). The

the Scriptures in the margin. It ends with a "triolet" execrating law-suits:

A tous les diables les proces
Et qui premier les composa,
Car plusieurs en sont destroussez.²⁸

Just as he found occasion to extol the glory of Tulle, so Beaulieu now takes the opportunity to express his gratitude for all the good fortune which befell him in the city of Bordeaux:

Plaisant Bordeaux, noble & royal domaine,
Du grand honneur & plaisir qui m'as faict,
Graces te rendz (apres Dieu tout parfait),
Et mesmement a ta court sôueraine.²⁹

It was about this time that Beaulieu wrote a lengthy poem upon the death of François de la Tour, viscount of Turenne, who died in 1532. This poem gives a very detailed account of the life and the activity of the well known ambassador of François I^{er}.³⁰ Beaulieu seems to have been well acquainted with the viscount. He tells how the latter had promised to take the town of Beaulieu under his personal care and to reform its administration, but he died before he was able to carry out his plans:

Et toy, Beaulieu, vien t'en gemir & plaindre
Ton vray seigneur, car s'il eust peu attaindre

copy, which belonged to Cailhava (n° 315), was sold for 150 francs. It is now to be found in the Rothschild library (n° 520). Like the *Gestes* it was reprinted in the *Divers Rapports* of 1537, but with many changes. Emile Picot, in the *Catalogue Rothschild*, says that the volume bears the wood-cuts used by Jacques Moderne of Lyons, at the top and bottom of the page, but that the characters are unlike those of Moderne.

²⁸ Beaulieu returns more than once to this subject. In the *Divers Rapports* we find three rondeaux on the same theme (the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth). In the first he tells us that to have a law-suit, "c'est pis que grosse verolle"; in the second, "c'est pis que fiebure ung seul proces auoir"; and in the third he consigns all law-suits "au plus profond du creux lac Plutonicque." His experience with the courts did not leave him with very pleasant memories.

²⁹ *Div. Rap.*, f° 64, La neuvieme chanson, "a la louenge de la ville de Bordeaux."

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, f° 142 v°, "Brefue deploration de feu tresillustre Seigneur François de la Tour, En son vivant visconte de Turenne." This poem, however, in spite of its title, is far from being brief.

Encor ung peu, promis auoit sa foy
 De reformer tes meurs & ton desroy,
 Et te reduire a paix, ordre & police,
 Faisant regner (mieulx que iadis) iustice.

The town of Beaulieu was under the jurisdiction of the consuls and viscount of Turenne and the Benedictine abbey. In the epistle to Nicolas Arnoul which we cited above (*Div. Rap.*, f° 70), Beaulieu states that his guardian was appointed by the magistrate of Turenne. It is very natural that he should dedicate a poem to his honor. He describes the generosity and kindness of François de la Tour :

En Lymosin fut son primitif regne,
 Ou il estoit viconte de Turenne,
 Mainte autre place & villes & chasteaulx
 Estoient à luy, & domaines tresbeaulx,
 Par sur lesquelz ny a seigneur en France
 Qu'ayt sur son bien plus franche iouyssance,
 Tesmoing de ce la grande liberté
 Des habitans d'icelle viconté.

A son trespas n'auoit ce personnage
 Trente & huyt ans acomplis par son aage.
 Ce neantmoins (oyant son bon renom)
 Le Roy Francoys, Francoys premier du nom,
 Pieça l'auoit, congnoissant ses vaillances,
 Ordonné chef de soixtante & dix lances,
 Et telle charge, au vray bien meritoit,
 Car tres prudent & belliqueux estoit.

Later the king made him "chevalier de son ordre," and not long afterwards he gave him the command of more than one hundred knights.

Puis l'ordonna au pays Lyonnois
 Son lieutenant, pour ung fait de grand pois,
 Qu'il exploicta, si bien sans defaillance
 Qu'on l'estima le paragon de France.

Pope Clement the Seventh appointed François de la Tour mediator between him and the Venetians, and the king, appreciating his dip-

lomatic talents, singled him out for negotiating the weightiest questions of state. Later the king again showered great honors upon him by appointing him governor of the Ile de France, and then put him in charge of the forest of Vincennes. All these honors, however, did not change his character, for he remained ever liberal and sympathetic:

Ce sceurent ceulx qu'il eust dessoubz sa charge,
 Ausquelz il fut si liberal & large,
 Que capitaine oncq fust ne cheualier,
 Et si courtoys, franc, doulx, & familier,
 Que lon disoit par toute la prouince,
 O l'honneste homme, o qu'il sert bien son prince.
 Bref, s'il eust eu vie plus longuement,
 N'eust peu faillir d'auoir le maniment
 De plus d'honneurs, & plus de biens terrestres
 Que n'eurent oncq ses louables ancestres,
 Car Papes, Roys, & tous princes loingtains
 Tant D'angleterre, Espaigne, & Transmontains
 Deuers les quelz souuent fait le voyage,
 L'auoyent trouue tant eloquent, & sage,
 Qu'au desloger de leurs terre & pays,
 Le regretoyent & estoient esbahys
 De sa prudence & honneste faconde,
 Disant (entre eulx) c'est Cicero au monde.

When François de la Tour fell ill, the king visited him many times, giving him courage and comfort, and even Marguerite de Navarre, sister of the king, came to see him. He had at his bedside all the physicians and surgeons of the court, and no efforts were spared to save his life. On his death-bed he expressed the wish to be buried in his native town of Brive, and this wish was carried out with great solemnity. Beaulieu composed two epitaphs to commemorate his noble career.³¹

³¹ *Op. cit.*, f° 138 v°, 139 v°. For François de la Tour cf. Moreau, *La prinse et délivrance du roy, venue de la royne . . . et recouurement des enfans de France, 1524-1530*. (*Archives curieuses de l'histoire de France*, II, p. 251): "Monseigneur de Turenne, François de la Tour II du nom, vicomte de Turenne, né le 5 juillet 1497, et mort en 1532 . . . seigneur de Turenne, chevalier de l'ordre du Roy, cappitaine de cent gentils hommes de la maison du dict seigneur, très vaillant et notable personnage". Cf. Justel, *Histoire généalogique de la maison*

It is again necessary to stop to correct an error on the part of Bordier. In two poems, written about 1533 or 1534, Beaulieu speaks of a certain Charlotte de Maumont. The title of the first one is "De par ung gentilhomme a une dame, laquelle il deuroit avoir en mariage," and that of the second, "Contenant la responce dung Noble & reuerant Conte. . appellé Charles Destaing, a une lettre que luy auoit faict tenir (par Lauteur) Honneste & noble Damoyselle, Charlotte de Maumont, sa cousine."³²

Bordier refers to the young lady as the "dame de ses pensées." Besides, he says of the two poems mentioned above: "Ces dernières sont les plus sérieuses; elles sont faites pour une jeune fille de noble maison qu'il désirait épouser, Mlle. Charlotte de Maumont sa cousine. Elle le refusa, lui renvoya en vers aussi, ses vers et ses présents, et il est possible que ce soit par une inspiration de dépit ou de chagrin qu'Eustorg soit entré, comme il le fit, dans la vie ecclésiastique."³³ It would have lent quite a romantic touch to Beaulieu's life had it been true that he entered the priesthood on account of a broken heart, but the facts are very much against the sentimental biographer. Unfortunately it should not be forgotten that as early as 1529 Beaulieu signed himself "prestre" (*Gestes des Solliciteurs*). Besides, one simply cannot read the titles to mean that Beaulieu was a cousin of Charlotte de Maumont. The following citation will also show how erroneous is Bordier's interpretation:

*Le tien cousin, qu'en oubly ne peult mettre
Le temps passé, n'a pas voulu obmettre
De te respondre aux lettres qu'ay receues,
Par maistre Eustorg, lesquelles apperceues,
Monstrent ton sens, bon en perfection,
Dont ay conceu plus grande affection
De t'estimer & dire somme toute,
Que de vertu tu es la passe route. . . .*

Further in the poem her real cousin speaks of the count of Roussy:

Qui t'ayme bien, comme i'ay peu congnoistre.

d'Auvergne, 1645. Also Hauser, *Sources de l'Histoire de France*, XVI^e siècle, vol. II, p. 42.

³² *Op. cit.*, f° 75 v° and f° 78 v°.

³³ *La France Protestante*, article Beaulieu.

Le dict seigneur, (ie le te faictz scauoir)
 Ne passoit iour sans te ramenteuoir,
 Et luy, & moy, de foys ung million,
 Te eussions voulu veoir pour lors à Lyon.

Or cependant, pour que la fin ie face,
 Me recommandant a ta tresbonne grace,
 Priant à Dieu (*ma cousine m'amy*)
 Qu'en tout honneur te tienne en longue vie.

As any one can see, there is nowhere question of Beaulieu except as carrier of the letter. The writer of the epistle is Charles d'Estaing, cousin of Charlotte de Maumont.³⁴ She came from one of the most illustrious families of the Limousin, and was the daughter of Charles de Maumont, lord of Maumont, baron of Roche-Limosy, viscount of Bridiers. Her mother was Anne de Bourdeille, sister of Brantôme. Charlotte was maid of honor to the queen Eleanor, the second wife of Francis the First, and one of the great favorites of the court. She was the mistress of the Dauphin, who died in 1536. Before receiving his attentions, she was asked in marriage, according to the legend, by the count of Roussy. She received a ring from him in token of his affection. One day a friend of hers, noticing the ring, confessed that she was once its possessor. Charlotte, wounded by her suitor's perfidy, returned the ring to its former owner. The count was greatly incensed by her conduct. This story was very well known and Beaulieu had surely heard of it. The part he played in the intrigue was to put it into verse. Of the incident of the ring he writes:

Mais demander que vous trouuez estrange
 Que de la bague aye faict ung eschange,
 En la rendant à qui elle appartient,
 Je vous demande, est ce à moy ou il tient,
 Ou bien à vous, & par quel moyen
 Peult on donner à nul ce qui n'est sien?
 Ainsi que vous celle bague susdicte

³⁴ For a Lestang family see Clément-Simon, *Célébrités de la ville de Brive, Les de Lestang, Les Meynard de Lestang, Les Polverel*. Paris, Champion. (From the *Bulletin de la Société Scientif., Histor., et Archéol., de la Corrèze*, vol. XIV.) "Lestang" may be a variant spelling of "d'Estaing."

Feistes à moy? Car la raison desduicte
 Elle n'estoit à vous aulcunement,
 Dont ne debuez prendre esbahissement.
 Si ne l'ay plus, ains chose plus estrange,
 Et de vous mesmes, & moindre de louange,
 De m'en auoir faict present en ce point
 Considéré que vostre n'estoit point.³⁵

In a "Coq à Lasne enuoyee de par Laucteur a Noble Charlotte de Maumont pours lors damoysselle de la royne," Beaulieu takes the occasion to ask the young lady for a small ecclesiastic charge:

O qu'il y a de gens infames,
 A faulte d'auoir bien de quoy,
 Combien que ne scay sur ma foy
 S'il fault que ie vous aduertisse
D'impetrer pour moy ung office
 D'ung des Presidens de la court,
 Non, que dys ie? ie suis bien lourd,
 Mais *ung office qu'on appelle*
Aumosnier, ou clerc de chapelle. (*Div. Rap.*, Epistre X, f° 84.)

According to Bordier, Beaulieu was a member of the "Bazoche" while at Tulle. He bases his statement on a rondeau "présenté par le Roy de la Bazoche de Tulle a monsieur de Montchenu, Seneschal du pays de Lymosin le iour qu'il y fait son entrée." This rondeau, however, was merely written by Beaulieu for the occasion, and does not appear to imply in any way that he was a member of that body. The text of the rondeau is as follows:

Si ne m'acquite a vostre aduenement
 (Noble seigneur) aussi suffisamment
 Que meritoit vostre grand seigneurie,
 Pardonnez moy, car ie vous certifie
 Que le bref temps cause l'empeschement.

³⁵ *Div. Rap.*, Epistre VII, f° 80. For Charlotte de Maumont, cf. Clément-Simon, *Charlotte de Maumont, fille d'honneur de la reine Eléonore, femme de François I^{er}*, Tulle, 1889, in-8°. (*Bulletin de la Soc., des lettres, sciences, et arts de la Corrèze.*) For Jean de Maumont, brother of Charlotte, a prolific writer, consult Clément-Simon's *Curiosités*, p. 104, sqq.

Mes gens ne moy, n'auons sceu nullement
Vostre venue hors mis tant seulement
Depuis deux iours, pource mercy vous crye
Si ne m'acquitte.
La republicque, & la court mesmement,
Et la Bazoche ont espoir grandement
Avoir soubz vous amour & paix unie,
Et veult chascune estre par vous regie,
Mais supportez elles & moy (pourtant)
Si ne m'acquitte.⁸⁶ (Rond. 53, f° 25.)

It was probably in the fall of 1534 that Beaulieu left for Lyons. Until that date he seems to have divided his time between Tulle and Bordeaux. The letter of which we have spoken above, was perhaps entrusted to him on his departure for Lyons, his future home.

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NEW YORK

(To be continued)

⁸⁶ The seneschal of the Limousin, Montchenu, made his entry into that city on Sept. 21, 1534. This fixes another date for Beaulieu's sojourn in Tulle. Cf. the *Régistres consulaires de Limoges*, vol. II, p. 216.

REVIEWS

Prolegomena und erster Teil einer kritischen Ausgabe der *Chançon de Guillelme*, von FRANTZ RECHNITZ. Bonn, Emil Eisele, 1909. Pp. viii, 105.

La Chançon de Guillelme, Französisches Volksepos des XI. Jahrhunderts, kritisch herausgegeben von H. SUCHIER. Halle, Niemeyer, 1911. Pp. lxxvi, 195.

La thèse de M. Rechnitz offre une restauration des vv. 1-1001 du *Guillaume* et de plusieurs passages isolés, avec une discussion intéressante (voir l'*Introduction* et les *Appendices*). Le travail est décidément au-dessus de celui des thèses allemandes ordinaires. On y sent une intelligence forte et originale, qu'inspire un véritable enthousiasme.

Deux principes surtout ont guidé M. R. dans les émendations qu'il propose : celui des *epische Phrasen* (répétition épique), et celui des passages parallèles, deux principes qui en vérité n'en font qu'un seul. Il me paraît porter trop loin ces procédés dans plusieurs cas. Ne veut-il pas, par exemple, remplacer le : *Sire, fait ele* du v. 2343, par *Sire, dist ele* (p. IV) ?

Je mentionne plusieurs points pris au fur et à mesure.

La critique adressée à la restauration par M. Bédier des vv. 2379, 2380, n'est peut-être pas entièrement justifiée. La restauration de M. R., bien qu'elle ait le mérite de conserver le mot *quatre*, manque un peu de tournure, de naturel (p. IV). M. Bédier est de l'avis que le *Willame* comme nous l'avons ne renferme qu'un seul poème ; à ceci, M. R. oppose des arguments qui me paraissent pour la plupart bons (pp. IV, V). L'auteur est de l'avis de M. Bédier que notre chançon connaissait un *Moniage Guillaume*, opinion à laquelle je ne saurais souscrire avec la même certitude que ces messieurs (p. V). L'auteur a l'air de croire que c'est lui qui ajoute l'histoire de l'épée Joieuse aux données cycliques que connaissait la *Chançon de Guillaume* ; ou se peut-il que je comprenne mal son expression : " wie ich hinzufüge " ? M. Bédier a compris toute la portée de la mention de Joieuse, comme on le verra en lisant la p. 323 du tome I de son ouvrage . . . M. R. parle de l'heureuse explication des vv. 1252-73 qu'offre M. Bédier. Il aurait dû ajouter celle des vv. 1329-31, à la p. 322 (p. V) . . . M. R. est de l'avis que notre poème est la plus logique de toutes les chansons de geste populaires, et tâche de montrer que M. Bédier et moi, nous nous sommes trompés en disant le contraire. Il se base en bonne partie sur les conclusions de son article concernant le refrain du *Guillaume*, où il dit avoir indiqué le jour et même l'heure des principaux événements de cette chanson. C'est à rêver debout, et l'on se demande quelle conception étonnante de la formation et de la transmission de poèmes populaires a pu présider à une telle tentative ! Certes, plus d'un professeur d'ancien français a eu à réprimer le zèle d'un étudiant qui voulait se lancer sur cette piste facile mais dangereuse . . . Ensuite, M. R. nous critique pour avoir vu une disparate dans l'absence (et plus tard dans la présence) de Guiot, mais son argument me semble faible, comme aussi son argument au sujet de la présence des chevaliers dans la salle où Guillaume mange et parle avec Guiot. La partie la plus forte, cependant, de son argument se trouve dans la

dernière phrase: "Fand es aber," etc. Pour moi, cette scène dérive de celle de Girard, qui commence au v. 1041, et se voit, sous une forme plus récente, au v. 2386 ss. (p. VI).¹

La reconstruction des premiers 1000 vv. proposée par l'auteur est bien faite, quoique l'on puisse critiquer plusieurs de ses émendations: par exemple, celle où il remplace le mot *messagers* au v. 23 du ms. par *mes*, en disant que le poème ne connaît pas le mot *messenger*. En général, l'auteur s'est conduit avec plus de réserve vis à vis de son modèle, chose qui mérite notre gratitude. Je mentionne plusieurs points dans la reconstruction de M. R., en regrettant que le temps m'ait manqué de la lire en entier. Au v. 7, la leçon proposée par M. P. Meyer me paraît préférable (M. R. cite cette leçon au bas de la page, mais il ne fallait pas y mettre de virgule). En discutant le v. 55, l'auteur parle du nom *cort nes* appliqué à Guillaume, et il cite à la page 7 des vv. d'*Aliscans*.² Ces vers sont tirés probablement de plusieurs mss. Si cela est, il aurait dû les mettre en bon état, au lieu de s'en rapporter à l'édition de Halle. On ne saurait guère souscrire non plus à ce qu'il dit à cette page: que les vv. 1643 ss. d'*Aliscans* prennent leur mention de *boce* du *Renoart*, celle de *Rome* du *Couronnement*, et le nom d'Ysoré du *Moniage Guillaume*. C'est parler trop catégoriquement.—La note 1, à la p. 12, qui commente les vv. 117-19, est certainement erronée. Le sujet de *out*, au v. 117, ne saurait guère indiquer celui qui vient de parler, et l'ascription de honte à Vivien sous les conditions données est d'une complexité psychologique qui peut bien être allemande, mais qui n'est point française, surtout à l'époque de notre chanson. L'auteur dit, à la page 30, note 3, après avoir changé l'*Alderufe* du ms. en *Alderofo*, que l'*Alderofo* du v. 376 est un homonyme de l'*Alderufe* qui paraît plus tard, dans le *Renoart*, v. 2095 ss. C'est bientôt dit, mais ce n'est pas de la critique. La reconstruction des vv. 503-11 laisse à désirer.³ A mon avis, Vivien veut dire: "Si un Français, au royaume de Louis, vous avait blessés ainsi, vos fils n'accepteraient jamais de trêve de lui. Aucun château-fort ne pourrait le protéger." Il n'a pas besoin de compléter sa pensée, qui serait, celle-ci: "Traitera-t-on mieux des Sarrazins qui nous massacreraient dans une *estrangle contree* que des Chrétiens qui nous feraient du mal en France? Vengeons-nous!" Si c'est là l'idée, le texte de M. R. ne la rend pas. Il a été influencé peut-être par le mot *nes* du v. 511: on pourrait écrire *nel*, bien que le pluriel se comprenne dans une telle phrase. Pour ce qui est du mot *si* du v. 506, je le comprends au sens assez fréquent d'un *et* un peu vague, et non pas au sens conditionnel. On peut faire objection à la ponctuation des vv. 570-78. Disons simplement en passant que la leçon proposée pour le v. 571 altère notablement l'idée assez claire du ms. M. R. rejette, comme c'était à prévoir, ma correction

¹ Mes opinions au sujet de Guiot se liront dans la *Romania*, XXXVIII, pp. 4, 5; *Modern Philology*, II, pp. 231, 232; III, pp. 213-16.

² M. R. écrit *corp nes*. Il vaudrait mieux écrire *corb nes*, pour des raisons de phonétique que je ne m'arrête pas ici pour expliquer.

³ En parlant de ce passage d'*Aliscans*, M. R. constate que le ms. *m* appelle l'adversaire de Guillaume Corsaut, au lieu d'Ysoré, comme font le *Couronnement* et le *Charroi*. J'ajoute que *Foucon de Candie* (813 ss., 973-75) fait tuer Corsolt de Naples par Guillaume. Il faut croire que le nom de Corsolt est ici une rencontre fortuite, ou qu'Herbert le Duc savait vaguement que Guillaume était censé avoir donné la mort à un nommé Corsolt.

de: *Que par la lune en qu'a Barcelune*, au v. 633. S'il s'agissait d'un poème allemand, M. R. aurait certainement raison. La lune brille toujours en Allemagne, nous n'avons pas besoin d'un H. Heine pour nous le dire. Une mention de la lune au v. 633 surprendrait tout homme rempli de l'esprit des chansons de geste, tandis que la mention du terme de voyage cadre parfaitement avec le style épique français. Pour défendre son mot *lune*, l'auteur se prévaut, comme M. Suchier avant lui,⁴ du fait que, dans la *Chevalerie Vivien* le messager part la nuit. Mais soyons conséquents! M. R. va nous dire, à la p. 86, dans des mots qu'il souligne, que, pour déterminer l'emplacement primitif de l'Archamp, on ne doit consulter que la *Chanson de Guillaume* (les 1979 premiers vers de notre poème). Donc, selon l'auteur, quand il s'agit de déterminer la géographie ancienne, on ne peut consulter que le *Guillaume*; mais quand il s'agit de déterminer le temps du départ du messager, il est permis de consulter la *Chevalerie*. C'est, à mon avis, une pure cheville. Mais regardons le témoignage de la *Chevalerie* bien en face: quels sont les faits? Cette chanson introduit un château, qui n'existait pas dans son modèle. Le héros, avec peu d'hommes, est assiégé dans ce château, par une nombreuse armée. Il désire envoyer un messager pour avoir du secours. Il ne peut faire autrement que l'envoyer la nuit, cent passages sont là pour le démontrer. Voilà donc l'origine de l'expédition nocturne de la *Chevalerie*. Or, si nous nous rapportons au *Guillaume*, il faut beaucoup de bonne volonté (et peut-être une théorie à défendre) pour y voir la moindre trace d'un voyage de nuit. La description, au contraire, renferme plusieurs traits qui sont habituels dans les scènes de bataille le jour, tels que la foule des Sarrazins à cheval, la chaleur, etc.⁵ En corrigeant la leçon *Turlenlerei* du v. 655 en *Torleu le rei*, M. R. laisse entrevoir qu'il accepte l'identification proposée par M. Suchier, d'après laquelle il s'agirait d'un roi irlandais, Turlough, roi de Munster de 1064 à 1086!

Arrivé aux vv. 958-1001, M. R. traite le message de Girard d'une façon qui me paraît regrettable. Parce que le pauvre Girard, presque mourant de sa longue course, et, sans doute, de ses blessures, ne réussit pas à répéter le message tel qu'il l'a reçu l'auteur, suivant toujours son principe des passages parallèles, rétablit l'ordre des vv. d'après les vv. 634-87. Au v. 375, notre chanson parle d'une bataille *as prez de Girunde*, bataille que, au v. 635, elle appelle *del champ del Saraguce*, M. R. corrige ce dernier v. ainsi: *del champ desoz Gironde*, et me cite à l'appui. En effet, *Gironde* a dû être la leçon originale. On pourrait mentionner la forme *Sarragonde* pour *Sarragoce*, dans le *Roland* du Trinity College, au v. 2645. Remarquons que le fait d'une telle altération appuierait ce que j'ai avancé ailleurs:⁶ l'oubli de la ville de Gironde dans le milieu où l'on chantait et copiait notre poème et sa confusion avec le nom du fleuve. Je cite même à la preuve les mots: *prez de Girunde* et *champ del Saraguce* du texte, qui ont l'air de s'appliquer plutôt à une rivière qu'à une ville. L'importance de ce raisonnement pour l'interprétation des vv. 14 et 40 est grande: je crois qu'ici *Girunde*

⁴ *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, XXXIII, p. 56.

⁵ Dans son article sur le refrain dans la *Chançon de Willame*, *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, XXXII, p. 188, l'auteur se justifie, en disant que l'armée chrétienne ne met qu'une nuit pour se rendre de Barcelone à l'Archamp. On se trompe en se basant sur un pareil passage, qui n'est qu'un lieu commun. Le poème ne parlerait pas autrement d'un voyage de Barcelone à Tours.

⁶ *Romania*, XXXIV, p. 242, note.

voulait dire à l'origine la ville et non le fleuve. Dans le premier *Appendice*, p. 77, l'auteur discute la question géographique du poème, et, comme ses opinions ne s'accordent que rarement avec les miennes, il a souvent à me critiquer, mais il le fait, généralement, d'une façon superficielle. Par exemple, à la p. 80, il dit que je sais que Guillaume est parti d'Orange (il s'agit du *Renoart*) deux jours seulement avant son retour dans cette ville, et que, cependant, je veux qu'il soit allé de là à Barcelone, puis à Tortose, et puis qu'il soit revenu à Orange, le tout en deux jours. Disons d'abord qu'on ne peut pas souvent mesurer ces espaces et ces laps de temps "épiques," comme le fait M. R., la règle et la montre à la main. Il commet une erreur fondamentale, erreur que j'ai commise moi-même autrefois. Ensuite, s'il avait lu avec soin ce que j'ai avancé plus d'une fois, il aurait évité l'injustice de sa critique. Où ai-je dit que le héros avait accompli toutes ces choses en deux jours? Qu'il me soit permis de citer ici ce que j'ai dit il y a plus de huit ans, en parlant d'*Aliscans* et de ses sources:

"The remanieurs have omitted to send Guillaume to Spain with an army that he might be ready in case of attack, and they have preserved the time-record of the original. The messenger is thus represented as riding to Orange from Spain with as much ease and despatch as to Barcelona, and, in the same way the army of relief arrives at the scene of operations."

Conduit trop loin (il me semble) par sa théorie des passages parallèles, et sans tenir compte de toutes les significations du mot *France*,⁸ M. R. croit que les vv. 15, 41 et 962 signifient la même chose, et que l'emplacement de la bataille est en France. Ces vers, selon lui, doivent n'en faire qu'un. Ce "vers," comme je l'ai déjà fait observer, est peut-être le plus corrompu de la chanson; il a embarrassé les copistes, il nous reste obscur. Sur les trois fois qu'il revient, le mot *France* manque deux fois. Mais, dira-t-il, il y avait le mot *France* du v. 962 contre le mot *terre* du v. 41, donc autorité égale. Je dis, cependant, que le mot *terre* est appuyé par d'autres vv.; 696, 964; qu'outre cela, un scribe a pu laisser tomber le mot *terre* du v. 15 plus facilement que le mot *France*. M. R. n'applique pas sa théorie avec entière exactitude. On ne peut donc accepter ce qu'il avance (à la p. 78) que les trois passages mentionnés disent tous que l'Archamp est en France.⁹ Il dit à la même page que, selon les données du poème, Bourges est très près du champ de bataille; c'est fort mal connaître les anciennes chansons que de tirer une telle conclusion. On doit s'étonner de la façon biscornue dont M. R. retourne les mots *en estrange cuntree* (vv. 681, 1001). Guiot, dit-il, est auprès de son oncle Guillaume, qui demeure à Barcelone; Vivien, qui est en France, mande son frère de venir à son secours *en estrange cuntree*, i. e., en France! La France, donc, pour ce neveu de Guillaume, pour ce jeune héros de la *fière geste*, est un *estrange cuntree*! Le doute me vient à l'esprit que l'auteur puisse vouloir dire une pareille chose. Dans la note

⁷ *The Origin of the Covenant Vivien*, University of Missouri Studies, I, No. 2, p. 51.

⁸ Voir, par exemple, A. Terracher: *Notes sur l'Archant*, p. 9, note (*Annales du Midi*, janvier, 1910).

⁹ Cf. l'avis de M. Willy Schulz: *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache*, XXXV, Heft 2 & 4 (*Referate*), pp. 67, 68. Selon lui, l'Archamp dans le *Guillaume* doit se trouver hors de France; il n'accepte pas, cependant, l'Espagne. M. Terracher, au contraire, l'accepte: voir l'article cité *passim*.

3 de cette page 78, l'auteur dit que la seule chose dans le *Guillaume* dont j'aie pu tirer des arguments favorisant l'Espagne comme emplacement de la bataille était la mention de Barcelone. Ceci prouve que M. R. a lu mon article d'une façon superficielle. Parmi plusieurs arguments qu'il passe sous silence, qu'il me soit permis de citer celui-ci, auquel personne n'a répondu, que je sache: "Il n'est que naturel, si le siège de Guillaume est à Barcelone, que la scène des exploits de son 'neveu' se trouve plus en avant dans le pays sarrasin."¹⁰ La discussion d'*Aliscans* (pp. 81, 82) n'ajoute rien à la thèse de M. R. En parlant de cette chanson, pourquoi n'a-t-il rien dit du fait qu'elle glose le v. 3500 du *Renoart*: *tote la tere Vivien le ber*, par *Tortelose* et *Portpaillart*?¹¹ N'est-ce pas inquiétant? La discussion du témoignage de *Foucon* au sujet de l'emplacement de la bataille, est également manquée. L'auteur cite, par exemple, sans aucun commentaire défavorable, l'opinion tellement absurde de M. Suchier que le fait que *Foucon* se sert des deux noms *Archant* et *Aliscans* indique que ce poème place la bataille dans le voisinage d'Orenge (p. 82, note 2). A cette même page, il exprime l'avis que *Foucon* a tiré le récit de la fuite de Guillaume d'*Aliscans*, et il cite un de mes articles pour montrer que plusieurs vers de *Foucon* se trouvent aussi dans *Aliscans*. Il exagère cependant ce que j'ai avancé. Pour qui considère le grand nombre de points cités par moi où *Foucon* montre une connaissance de traditions plus anciennes que celles d'*Aliscans*, il sera oisif d'aller chercher dans cette chanson l'origine de la fuite de Guillaume.¹² M. R. dit (pp. 83, 84) que *Foucon* suit la vieille tradition dans deux points: Guillaume marche de Barcelone au secours de son neveu; et *Foucon* connaît Tedbald de Berry.¹³ Le fait que, dans *Foucon*, Guillaume marche de Barcelone à Tortose ne tire pas à conséquence, dit M. R., car, dans le *Guillaume* il part aussi de Barcelone, mais Vivien est en France. Voilà un raisonnement délicieux! Après avoir corrigé un passage corrompu, en violant les principes qu'il s'était posés, il se base sur cette émendation pour trancher toute la question de l'emplacement de la bataille. En discutant *Foucon de Candie*, M. R. aurait fait preuve de plus de franchise en mentionnant le passage cité par moi de cette chanson où l'on nous dit, en parlant justement de notre bataille, que Tibaut est venu avec son armée à Barcelone.¹⁴ Pourquoi ne dresse-t-il pas pour l'action de *Foucon* la carte que voici, qui en vaut plusieurs autres que je pourrais nommer?: "Tibaut désire attaquer Vivien, qui est en France, et marche contre Barcelone, qui est en Espagne. Guillaume est dans cette ville. Vivien mande Guillaume à Barcelone. Lui et

¹⁰ Voir *Romania*, XXXIV, p. 255.

¹¹ Voir *Romania*, XXXIV, pp. 255-55.

¹² Voir *Romania*, XXXVIII, pp. 8-10, et 31, note 4; aussi *Modern Philology*, III, p. 237, note 2.

¹³ On dirait que M. R. pense que M. Bédier a été le premier à citer les vv. tellement importants du ms. 25518 de la Bibliothèque Nationale, vv. qui mentionnent Tedbald de Berry. J'ai publié ces vv. dès 1905.

¹⁴ Voir *Romania*, XXXIV, p. 237, note 2:

Car Vivien nous i est mort lessiez.

A Bartelouse vint Tiebaus eslessiez, etc.

Ces vers se trouvent et dans le ms. 778 de la Bib. Nat. et dans celui de Londres, fait qui ne ressort pas de la nouvelle édition de M. O. Schultz-Gora, variantes du v. 501.

Tibaut s'en vont dans les environs de Bourges peut-être, où, comme on sait, il y a assez de pays pour livrer une belle bataille, ou du côté de la marche bretonne dans le département actuel de la Mayenne, pays encore plus propre à l'attaque. C'est là qu'a lieu la lutte suprême où périt Vivien, où Guillaume fut défait: *Molt fu bele la bataille.*¹⁷ Ou, pourquoi ne pas dire tout simplement que Barcelone et Tortelose sont censées être en France? . . . Que dira M. R. des vv. 2126-37 de *Foucon*? Dans ce passage, Guichart lamente la défaite où il a perdu son frère, où lui-même a été pris, où Guillaume a eu à prendre la fuite. Il continue:

A Barcelone, quant g'i fui anvoiez,
Mout fui petiz de paiens resoigniez;
Mes s'or estoie a mon brant acointiez,
Dont resteroit li Archanz chalongiez
Et li domaches dont encor sui iriez.¹⁸

Pourquoi fermer les yeux sur le témoignage, cependant assez clair, de *Foucon*? . . . A la p. 84, M. R. dit que l'auteur de *Foucon* ne peut pas avoir mis à contribution de plus vieilles traditions que celles du *Guillaume*. Il suffit de renvoyer aux critiques fort saines que M. W. Schulz (l. c., p. 62) et M. A. Terracher (l. c., p. 5, note 3) lui ont adressées à cet égard. . . . A la note 1 de cette page, M. R. exprime l'opinion que le récit de la conquête de la Catalogne par Vivien, tel qu'il se trouve dans les *Nerbonesi*, ne peut pas se baser sur de vieilles traditions épiques. Il reconnaît, cependant, j'espère, que le remanieur du bon ms. 1448 de la *Chevalerie Vivien*, de même que le remanieur du ms. de Boulogne de ce poème, ont dû connaître des traditions d'une telle conquête.¹⁶ Il peut répondre, bien entendu, que le témoignage de ces mss. n'est pas suffisamment ancien. La partie de la discussion de M. R. qui traite la *Chevalerie Vivien* est presque aussi faible que celle qui traite *Foucon*. Pour se défaire du v. 62 de cette chanson, qui dit que Vivien et ses hommes entrent en *Espaigne la grant*, il cite M. Suchier. Ce savant a dit¹⁷ que le remanieur de la *Chevalerie* a simplifié plusieurs scènes du commencement du *Guillaume*, et en a introduit d'autres, telle que celle de la mutilation des Sarrasins.¹⁸ M. R. en tire la conclusion que la mention de l'invasion de l'*Espaigne* est à supprimer, comme une addition relativement récente. Remarquons ici deux choses: M. Suchier, dans le passage cité, ne parle pas de cette façon du v. 62. Il sait que, même si le v. est relativement récent, il a pu

¹⁵ C'est la leçon du ms. 25518. J'ai cité la leçon du ms. de Londres dans la *Romania*, XXXIV, p. 238.

¹⁶ Voir *Romania*, XXXIV, pp. 256, 257; *Modern Philology*, III, p. 225, note 2; *Chevalerie Vivien*, facsimile edition of the MS. of Boulogne, University of Missouri Studies, 1909, Introduction.

¹⁷ *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXXIX, pp. 679, 689. Disons en passant que la mention par M. S. de Garin au v. 380 de la *Chevalerie* (selon l'édition Jonckbloet) est malheureuse, car cette leçon est décréditée depuis longtemps. Encore une chose: la mention d'Aimer, à mon avis, ne soutient pas la comparaison avec celle faite par M. Bédier: *Légendes Épiques*, I, pp. 328, note, et 320, note 2.

¹⁸ M. J. Runeberg, dans son excellent livre: *Etudes sur la Geste Rainouart*, pp. 146, 147, avait déjà (1905) exprimé l'opinion que l'épisode des Sarrasins mutilés venait peut-être d'une autre source.

être l'ouvrage d'un remanieur très au courant de la vieille légende. Autre chose: M. R. omet un fait que mentionne M. Suchier: le vieux château de la *Chevalerie* serait aussi une addition due au remanieur. Pourquoi M. R. ne mentionne-t-il pas ce que dit M. S. de ce château? Est-ce parce qu'il s'est déjà servi de l'épisode du château pour appuyer le mot *lune* du v. 633 du *Guillaume*? c'est de ce château justement que part, la nuit, le messager dans la *Chevalerie*. Il y a donc à prendre et à laisser dans cette introduction, relativement récente, de la chanson? M. R. est de l'avis évidemment que la mention de Barcelone dans le *Guillaume* n'est pour rien dans l'expédition en *Espagne* de la *Chevalerie*. Il croit que le remanieur¹⁹ de cette chanson a été amené à introduire l'invasion d'Espagne parce qu'il voulait rattacher son poème aux événements des *Enfances Vivien*, qui, comme M. Suchier lui-même l'admet (l. c., p. 679) se déroulent à Luiserne, en Espagne.²⁰ Cette admission de la part de M. R. est déjà grave, car le remanieur qu'il suppose, savait, sans contredit, que Luiserne était au sud des Pyrénées. Il s'ensuit que le remanieur voulait dire par *Espagne* le pays au sud des Pyrénées. On peut donc retourner contre M. R. l'arme qu'il a prise. M. R. paraît (à la page 86) attacher plus d'importance au fait que le *Roland* d'Oxford, au v. 856, place la *terre Certaine* en Espagne (fait que M. Foerster lui a signalé) qu'à toutes les preuves que j'ai avancées. S'il trouvait que j'avais moi-même mentionné ce vers quelque part, qu'en dirait-il?

L'espace me manque pour traiter les deux derniers *Appendices* de l'ouvrage de M. R. Il s'agit toujours de tentatives de reconstruction de morceaux. Après un examen rapide, je suis de l'avis qu'il se trompe dans ce qu'il tâche d'établir, bien qu'il montre beaucoup d'habileté dans ce genre de travail. En somme, quoique je me sois trouvé souvent en désaccord avec M. R., je tiens à exprimer le grand plaisir que la lecture de son livre m'a apporté; c'est un ouvrage qui fait prévoir d'autres bonnes études.

Le volume de M. Suchier se compose d'une préface, d'une longue introduction, d'un texte critique de la *Chanson de Guillaume* (la partie supposée la plus ancienne), et du texte, exact autant que possible, du ms. Le livre est pourvu d'un glossaire et d'une table des noms propres. Le texte diplomatique a été collationné par M. J.-A. Herbert. M. Suchier a eu l'heureuse idée de faire imprimer en lettres italiques les mots que le premier éditeur, M. George Dunn, avait altérés ou mal lus.

A la p. VIII de la préface, M. S. répète sa conviction que ses théories sur l'origine et sur la signification du poème sont bien fondées. Il reproche à M. P. Meyer de s'être retranché derrière M. F. Lot et moi, et laisse entendre que M. Meyer a changé d'avis depuis la publication de son article sur le *Guillaume*. Je crois savoir que M. S. se trompe, et qu'encore M. Meyer changerait-il son avis il n'embrasserait pas celui de M. S. sur l'origine et la signification de la chanson. Je profite de cette occasion pour faire une remarque personnelle. Il s'agit d'une rectification à faire à la note 4 de la p. IV de l'introduction. M. S. y revendique l'honneur d'avoir été le premier à scinder en deux (à partir du v. 1983 de son texte critique) le ms. publié par la Chiswick Press sous le titre de *Chancun de*

¹⁹ Là où il s'agit de remaniement aussi ancien, ne vaudrait-il pas mieux dire: *les remanieurs*?

²⁰ Ceci serait l'occasion de demander à MM. S. et R. d'où les *Enfances* auraient emprunté l'idée de l'Espagne comme théâtre des exploits du jeune héros.

Willame. C'est moi cependant qui le premier avais indiqué cette division. M. S., en apprenant son erreur, m'en a écrit, dès 1911, une lettre fort polie, dont je le remercie loyalement.

Ce que dit le savant critique du ms, aux pp. III-V renferme naturellement moins de détails que l'article postérieur qu'a fait paraître M. J. Acher dans la *Revue des langues romanes*.²¹

Mentionnons plusieurs autres choses dans l'introduction. M. S., lui, croit non seulement à l'ancienneté de la chanson, mais à sa haute importance, et je suis pleinement de son avis. Il place la rédaction de la chanson vers 1080 (voir à la p. XXIX) . . . Aux pp. XXXVIII et XXXIX, M. S. répète ce que d'autres avaient dit avant lui, que les vv. 669-78 renvoient au *Siège d'Orenge* perdu, mais une bonne part de ce qu'il avance me paraît mal fondée: voir la première et la troisième phrases commençant sur la p. XXXIX . . . Il aurait pu ajouter, à la même page, au vers de *Foucon* cité un vers de ce poème qui se trouve dans le ms. de Stockholm: Tibaut y dit de Vivien: *Veiant mes oïls li fis lo chief colper* (fol. 77 v°). Et il y a d'autres vers de ce poème qui seraient à citer ici. A partir de la p. XLI, M. S. commence à traiter les questions géographiques, le décor historique et l'influence cyclique de la chanson. C'est la partie la plus faible du livre, quoiqu'il y ait bien des aperçus justes . . . Il croit (p. XLIII) avoir trouvé le sens de la mystérieuse *Terre Certaine*. Il abandonne une étymologie qu'il avait proposée comme possible (*Terra Carnutena*), et se base sur un passage du *Roman de Waldef*, où *terre certaine* veut dire *terra firma*. Qui pourrait en douter? Mais tirer de cela que ces mots ont la même signification dans la *Chanson de Guillaume*, où leur emploi est nettement celui d'un nom propre, voilà qui est inadmissible. Qu'on relise les passages. On ferait mieux, à mon avis, de voir dans *Terre Certaine* quelque nom propre espagnol estropié. L'étrange serait que de tels noms, venant d'abord par la voie populaire, conservassent leur forme correcte. Toute la discussion de l'emplacement de l'Archamp et celle des événements historiques, sont, je regrette de le dire, manquées. C'est attristant de voir M. S. persévérer dans un chemin tellement absurde que personne ne l'y suivra, si ce n'est un de ses élèves, et encore! . . . A la p. XLVI, M. S. veut tirer un détail topographique du mot *destre* dans le v.: *En l'Archamp vindrent desur la mer a destre*. On a, dit-il, l'Archamp à la main droite lorsqu'on va de Bourges vers la côte. Le mot *destre* ici est

²¹ Vol. LV, 1912, pp. 60-76, cf. vol. LVI, p. 125 ss., pour l'acquisition du ms. par le Musée Britannique, p. 513. J'ajoute un fait qui a échappé aux revues scientifiques: la bibliothèque de l'Université Harvard a acquis pour \$18,750 la très riche collection que possédait M. Dunn de mss. et de livres traitant du vieux droit anglais. M. Acher, critique d'ordinaire plus avisé, s'est laissé aller, dans un article publié dans la *Revue des langues romanes*, LIV, p. 333 ss., à appuyer MM. Becker et Tron dans leur opinion de notre chanson. Le premier avait besoin de réduire autant que possible l'importance de la *Chanson de Guillaume*: on n'a qu'à lire de lui la p. 48 de son *Altfranzösische Wilhelmsage* pour comprendre la situation dans laquelle il se trouvait dès la publication du livre de Chiswick; le second s'est laissé emporter par son manque de connaissance du sujet. Pour ce qui en est de l'existence du ms. du *Guillaume*, j'ai dit dans mon compte rendu du livre de M. Tron (*Romanic Review*, I, p. 453, note 2) qu'un de mes amis avait eu entre ses mains ce précieux ms.

plutôt un simple lieu commun, comme le mot *gauche* dans le v. 38 de l'*Aymerillot* de Hugo: *Sur la gauche est la mer aux grandes ondes bleues* . . . A la p. XLVIII ss., M. S. offre une explication du mot *alues* des vv. 17, 43 et 966 de la chanson. Il propose de tirer ce mot d'*allodium*, et croit qu'il signifie forêt. Il cite bien des exemples d'*allodium* et d'*alleux* dans le pays de la marche bretonne. Mais M. Acher (*Revue des langues romanes*, LIV, pp. 341, 342) cite le mot venant de bien d'autres parties de la France. Pour moi, je suis loin d'être convaincu que *alues* veuille dire forêt dans les passages du *Guillaume* dont il s'agit. Il me semble pouvoir signifier plantation, et je ne l'imprimerais pas comme un nom propre. Si le mot veut dire forêt je n'accepterais pas la correction que propose M. S. de *prent* en *esprent* ou de *prendre* en *esprendre* . . . M. S. dit à la p. LVIII que *Foucon* mentionne vaguement que Barcelone avait été autrefois aux Sarrasins, et que ce poème ne dit pas que ce fut Guillaume qui la leur prit. Il cite le v. 4056 de l'édition de M. Schultz-Gora et la p. 83 de celle de Tarbé (pourquoi cette édition, lorsque j'ai donné le passage, dans la *Romania*, XXXIV, pp. 237, 238, sous une forme un peu plus correcte?). Il aurait dû ajouter les vv. 5253, 5354 de l'édition Schultz-Gora. L'action de *Foucon* est basée sur le fait que Guillaume a pris à Tibaut et aux Sarrasins Barcelone, Portpailart et Orenge. Tibaut tâche de rentrer dans ses terres. Il est vrai que le poème laisse entendre un peu vaguement, si l'on veut, que le héros chrétien a conquis Barcelone avant de conquérir Orenge. La portée de cette donnée est grande. Le dernier paragraphe est à comparer avec l'excellent article de M. H.-A. Smith dans cette *Revue*, IV, p. 84 ss. et surtout p. 149 ss.

La partie la plus solide, la plus belle, du livre de M. S. c'est, le rétablissement du texte. Cela est vrai, malgré le fait que les savants préféreront toujours une édition rigoureusement diplomatique de cette chanson.²² Il sera utile cependant de pouvoir mettre entre les mains des étudiants l'édition critique. Le temps m'a manqué de lire en entier la restauration de M. S., mais j'y ai remarqué la maîtrise que nous connaissons chez ce critique. S'il pêche quelquefois, c'est plutôt par tempérament, paraît-il, que par autre chose. La lune du v. 636, par exemple, brille chez lui avec la même lumière et par les mêmes causes que chez M. Rechnitz. Le v. 1073: *Puis salt del lit cume Frans naturels* témoigne de la rage des compatriotes de M. S. de voir partout des Francs. Encore un indice, bien petit mais qui a sa valeur: le mot *ces* au lieu du *ses* du ms. au v. 651 a quelque chose du mauvais pathétique des ballades anglaises, écossaises et allemandes.—La restauration proposée pour le v. 676 est impossible. Celle de M. Rechnitz est supérieure, quoique pas parfaite encore.—Le v. 1525 (voir note) n'a rien à faire avec le v. 7 de *Foucon*, car, dans ce dernier passage, le héros revenait de la bataille.—La restauration du v. 1706 me paraît impossible.

Arrivé à la Table des Noms Propres, M. S. avait naturellement à définir plusieurs des noms d'après ses théories à lui. C'est un défaut, bien entendu, mais léger. La critique, par exemple, acceptera-t-elle jamais ce qui se lit sous les noms *Marches*, *Limenes*, *Riu*, *Terre Certaine*?

R. W.

²² M. Mario Roques, compte faire publier une éd. dans ses *Classiques Français du Moyen Age*.

Vie de Charles d'Orléans (1394-1465). Par PIERRE CHAMPION, Archiviste-paléographe. Paris, Librairie Spéciale pour l'Histoire de France, Honoré Champion, 1911.

François Villon, Sa Vie et Son Temps. Par PIERRE CHAMPION. Paris, Librairie Spéciale pour l'Histoire de France, Honoré Champion, 1913.

Mr Pierre Champion is already well known to students of the fifteenth century for briefer studies on matters relating to the poet-duke, Charles d'Orléans;¹ in these two more ambitious works, published within a remarkably short time of one another, he establishes himself as an authority on the social history of that period. For it is biography and history with which Mr Champion concerns himself chiefly in these lives of the two greatest French poets of the fifteenth century, as may be gathered from the titles of the works themselves and from their classification by the publisher. Indeed the enquirer in the field of literature experiences a measure of disappointment, perhaps unreasonable, at the comparatively small place given to literary *aperçus* in the Life of Villon, their almost total absence from that of Charles d'Orléans; but he is recompensed by the complete panorama of life in the fifteenth century presented from two very different points of view.

Nothing could be farther apart than the life, on the one hand, of the royal duke, involved in all the great political crises of his nation, even though—a prisoner in England—he missed active share in the great episode of Joan of Arc, and, on the other, the life of the poor scholar, intimately associated with the learned and official, yet more intimately with the discredited and vagabond, classes. Their author has made each biography a vehicle for an exhaustive description of the customs, conditions and manners of their respective circles in the widest sense of the word and has brought to the task scholarly competence, exactitude and industry. The merest detail is based upon authentic sources, the widest generality has its proper relation to facts brought within the readers' ken. The one or two places where internal evidence seems strained to bear the conclusion are negligible in view of the six hundred and fifty-eight pages of the one work and the seven hundred and sixteen of the other.

The biography of Villon is confessedly barren of documentary evidence bearing upon the actual Life, as may be seen by the sparse collection of *Pièces justificatives* appended to it. Here Mr Champion's exact erudition finds its scope in the light he throws upon the setting of the poet's life. The title of his book partly at least justifies him, although some such title as *The Times of François Villon* might have been more exact. The aim of the biographer is frankly "de faire connaître les différents milieux qu'il a traversés, la société où il a trouvé ses protecteurs et ses victimes, Paris qu'il a beaucoup aimé." Starting from Marot's remark that to understand the *Lais*: "il faudroit avoir esté de son temps à Paris," Mr Champion shows us the Paris of the time with a particularity which justifies his assertion that we know more about Villon and his time than did Marot who edited the poet's work at a distance from him of barely two generations. Everything is, however, connected with some word of Villon's or with the sparse data directly relating to him.

The *Vie de Charles d'Orléans*, on the other hand, is what it professes to be,

¹ *Le manuscrit autographe des poésies de Charles d'Orléans* (1907); *Charles d'Orléans joueur d'échecs* (1908); *La Librairie de Charles d'Orléans* (1909).

a biography, and a biography based upon documents for the most part unpublished. The author has made ample use of the scattered collection of documents of the Baron de Joursanvault, whether available through the labors of the Comte de Laborde² or consulted in the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale, or the Bibliothèque de Blois; he has searched through other collections in the Bibliothèque Nationale and in the Archives Nationales, as well as in departmental and communal archives; has well employed his knowledge of the manuscripts and editions (the first edition no earlier than 1803) of his author and of that author's contemporaries; and has not neglected the frequent consultation of modern authorities, even in minor points. The documents available for the latter part of the Life are abundant, for its beginnings they are sufficient to enable the author to sketch a series of typical pictures.

Charles d'Orléans, the father of Louis XII, was a man of affairs before he was a man of letters, and his life is full of incident, which his biographer employs to shed light upon his poetry and to establish its chronology. Born in 1394, the son of that famous victim of infamous murder, Louis d'Orléans, and of Valentine of Milan, his parentage enormously influenced his life, for his youth was spent in seeking vengeance for his father's death, and not a few of the years of his later life in attempting to recover his mother's heritage. Before he was taken, at the age of twenty, as a prisoner to England, he beheld the atrocities of his own adherents the Armagnacs matched by those of the Cabochiens of the opposing faction; he saw final peace proclaimed, his party placed in power, and proper "vengeance" done for his father in the form of solemn funeral rites in open condemnation of the murderer, Jean sans Peur. After the great defeat at Agincourt he went to the English imprisonment, which lasted twenty-five years, in the course of which Joan of Arc rescued Orléans, his capital city. After his return, largely brought about by the exertions of Philip the Good, son of his father's murderer, and those of his half-English duchess, Charles carried out the ostensible purpose of his release and arranged a truce with England, becoming thenceforward a sort of official peace-maker. He succeeded in reconciling Charles de Bourbon and Philip, with whom he had made a compact to work "à l'apaisement dudit royaume de France"; he less successfully negotiated between the King and his vassals, especially Philip of Burgundy, and even attempted to make peace between Charles VII and the dauphin—a thankless task as it proved. In 1448 he made an expedition to Italy in a vain attempt to recover Asti from Francesco Sforza, but failing to secure support he retired to Blois, there to spend his last years in peace.

The three marriages of Charles d'Orléans extended his close connections with the political powers of France. His first wife was his cousin Isabelle of France, daughter of Charles VI, and widow of the ill-fated Richard II of England; his second, Bonne, the daughter of that duke who gave his name to the terrible Armagnacs; his third, Marie of Cleves, married late in life, the niece, almost the adopted daughter, of Philip of Burgundy.

Mr Champion does full justice to various striking details of Charles d'Orléans' career. The reader will not forget the picture of the young duke,—at fifteen a father and a widower—cruelly bereft of both his parents, burdened

² Who re-collected and printed many of the documents in his *Les Ducs de Bourgogne, études sur les lettres, les arts et l'industrie pendant le XV^e siècle* (Part II, vol. III).

with the heavy duty of vengeance; nor the incident of those sleeves embroidered with the words of a song: "Madame, je suis plus joyeux," the music of which was noted with five hundred and sixty-eight pearls, ordered by Charles in the happy year when the Emperor acknowledged his right to Asti, the year in which he was reconciled with the King and Queen, and in which—so Mr Champion thinks—he enjoyed the company of the young wife he loved, who died while he was in captivity; nor yet again will the reader forget the picture of his disenchanted age when, bereft of political importance, he retired to the semi-rustic frugal life of Blois. Here, clad in soberly old-fashioned black, mildly melancholy and hypochondriac, yet warm, tolerant, friendly, he held his little court, a "séjour d'honneur" where prince or poet was welcome, and where he distributed his "ordre du Camail," performed friendly offices for his dependents, corresponded with his friend Fradet, played cards and chess, dallied with the travelling mountebank, the travelling peddler. A lover of dogs and mounts, he was yet lukewarm in the chase and, within doors, found his pleasures in collecting jewels, boxes, arms and manuscripts (of which latter Mr Champion gives an admirable account); and above all in composing, writing and rewriting his graceful poems. And the end of his life was sweetened by the birth of children, after sixteen years of marriage, when he was himself well past sixty.

As against these clearly conveyed impressions, the account of the English captivity, full of exact details which would be wearisome but for the interest of getting them correctly established, results in being somewhat vague in outline. We hear much of the duke's various guardians, much of the messengers that passed to and fro between Charles and his family and subjects, but the chapter remains unsatisfying. Mr Champion brings out however that there was no "prison" in the sense in which Charles' subjects and countrymen pictured it,⁵ but that the captivity varied in rigor with the varying tides of the war with France, and became, after the death of Henry V, the more or less easy charge of individual noblemen.

The same vagueness—or lack of properly distributed emphasis—is noticeable in other passages. Thus, curiosity would demand some explanation of, or at least comment on, the reconciliation of Charles with Philip of Burgundy, son of his father's murderer, himself the victim of a murder which the Orléanais regarded as divine retribution; whereas the first steps towards that reconciliation⁶ are recorded without remark. More than one such hiatus disturbs the reader. A page,⁷ for instance, is given to a lively account of Richemont of Brittany, "ce brutal et honnête homme de guerre, tout renfrogné et lippu," who obtained the life of Jean d'Alençon because "il fallait amadouer ce brutal." References to the duke of Brittany occur thereafter at the interval of a few pages,⁸ and the reader discovers by accident,⁷ after several such,⁸ that another duke is in question, Charles' nephew François, himself an interesting figure.

⁵ As in the illuminated Royal Ms. Brit. Mus. 16 Fij, fol. 73 v^o, reproduced *Vie de Charles d'Orléans*, p. 200.

⁶ On the occasion of the visit of the Burgundian ambassadors to England in 1433.

⁷ *Vie de Charles d'Orléans*, p. 550.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 564, 565, 570, 571.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 572.

⁸ Pp. 377 and 454.

The charm, if not the value, of the book is greatly enhanced by the romantic interest of many of the characters that cross its pages, chief of them naturally Joan of Arc, who knew that God loved the duke of Orléans and who had had more revelations about him than about any but the King. She declared that Charles was "de sa charge," she would die gladly to fetch him out of England, and great was her joy in trying to recover his territories. She visited his young daughter, wife of Jean d'Alençon, and reposed familiar confidence in his brother, "le Grand Bâtard." Mr Champion raises the question whether Charles in his English captivity would have approved the recovery of his possessions by force of arms. He preferred peaceful means, for "il savait bien que sa captivité n'était devenue rigoureuse que du jour où le roi Henry V avait repris la guerre contre France."⁹ Mr Champion remarks elsewhere that it is not given us to know what Charles d'Orléans thought of Joan of Arc.¹⁰

Among the contemporaries of Charles d'Orléans none emerges more clearly from Mr Champion's pages than his above-mentioned brother, the great Dunois (brought up by Valentine among her own children), who never ceased to play the part of faithful henchman, though he became himself the more redoubtable and influential figure of the two brothers. Others who have a particular interest are Jacques Lelaing, squire of dames and champion of the lists, whom Charles disliked,—"*toujours sur son chemin et qui courtisait sa femme*";¹¹ the sinister Jean Sans Peur and his romantic and generous son Philip, Charles' benefactor, founder of the "Golden Fleece" and afire to recover Constantinople by a crusade; Isabella of Portugal, his duchess, "*doucement résolue*";¹² the pitiable Alençon,—whose condemnation for treason put him so outside the life of his class that Villon could refer to him as dead.¹³

In the account of the trial of the latter, Mr Champion reproduces an interesting picture of the event, containing the portrait of Charles d'Orléans, taken from the Munich *Boccaccio*,¹⁴ and he reprints in full the long plea of Charles d'Orléans on the occasion. Champollion Figeac had previously quoted it, but here careful collation of two manuscripts (Bib. Nat. mss. fr. 1104 and 5738) gives us a reliable text.

The book contains a good, if not critical, account of the poetry of the *Livre de la Prison*, as the poems written in England have been named, and the *Livre de Pensée* of the later years. Mr Champion discusses the ballades and chansons which recount the history of the poet's love for Beauté, those of his earlier youth, and those properly of the *Prison*. He notes the influence of musical convention upon his verse, although in Charles' day rondeaux and ballades were no longer accompanied, and remarks upon the use of the conventional vague expressions, amorous jargon and set situations in vogue, which make criticism so difficult. He dismisses Beaufrons' theory that *Beauté* is France, with Héricault's that it merely symbolizes the love-life of the poet. He identifies *Beauté* in fact with Bonne d'Armagnac, the young wife from whom Charles

⁹ *Vie de Charles d'Orléans*, p. 192.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 443.

¹¹ Marie de Clèves.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 294.

¹³ *François Villon* vol. II, p. 190.

¹⁴ The Munich *Boccaccio*, Codex Gallicus, 369.

was separated, and, if his reasons here are but moderately convincing, those which prove that she was at least alive as late as 1430, and did not die, as commonly stated, in 1415, are entirely so, derived as they are from a careful scrutiny of archives.

Treating of the later poetry, the *Livre de Pensée* exclusive of the *Livre de la Prison*, composed after the poet's fiftieth year, Mr Champion points out the increasing preponderance of short pieces especially rondeaux and bergerettes whose success was marked enough to repute Blois the school of short poems. Concerned to vindicate Charles d'Orléans as an actual "homme de chair et os," to quote the poet's description of himself, Mr Champion points out that though he still expresses himself through allegorical figures, *Envie*, *Soucie*, and *Melancolie* for instance, the companions of his disenchantment and resignation, allegory gives way to reflections on life and death. Despite his personifications, Charles d'Orléans is after all a realist; the apartments he gives to *Pensée* for instance are in fact his own apartments; *Espoir* is a charlatan whom he might meet in the road, "beau bailleur de paroles"; his heart at work writing is himself:

"Après entrer je le voye,
En ung comptouer qu'il avoit
La deça et dela queroit
En cherchant plusieurs vieux cayers,"

and so on.

In his chosen task of giving his readers a sense of the personality of Charles d'Orléans, his biographer has had indubitable success, and justifies his remark: "On ne peut aujourd'hui pénétrer son œuvre sans entrer en sympathie avec ce vieil homme."

The book contains, besides the index, an itinerary with helpful documentary references.

Mr Champion owes his first interest in Charles d'Orléans, he tells us, to his researches at Blois on the subject of François Villon, researches inspired in the first place by the late Marcel Schwob. His *François Villon*, lacking formal dedication, is in fact a tribute to Schwob's memory. Mr Champion aided him in making his notes for a contemplated work on the poet, and after his death arranged, for private publication, the first two chapters of that unfinished work. He makes no less clear his debt to the scholarship of Gaston Paris and Auguste Longnon, the real discoverer of all that is known of the life of Villon, and also to the critical acumen of W. G. C. Byvanck.

Although Mr Champion's thorough researches shed little new light upon the facts of Villon's life, they do, as has been said, broadly illuminate its surroundings and clarify many of the obscure allusions of the poet. The fact that Guillaume de Villon, the protector, the "plus que père" of François de Montcorbier, was a member of the community of Saint Benoit, serves as *raison d'être* for a chapter descriptive and historical on that order, its church, its cemetery, chapel and other appurtenances, as a later one deals with its connections, its political attitude, its discussions with the Mendicant Orders and with the Canons of Notre Dame, adding an interesting identification of two of these.¹⁵ Again, the mother of the poet lived in the quarter of the Célestins, and we have a description of the Celestins' church, an account of the devotion to the Virgin, of the education

¹⁵ *François Villon*, Chaps. I and VI.

of young children in church cloisters, and of the state of Paris in 1435-1437, when the cruelties of Armagnacs and brigands and the hardships of English domination were intensified by snows and floods, tempest and famine, plague and wolves: "Tels sont les échos des événements de ce temps capables de toucher l'imagination d'un petit Parisien au temps de l'enfance de François Villon." We may read a catalogue and description of the feasts and fasts of the liturgical year (including the transcript of a Christmas carol of the time), or of the street signs which formed the subject of Villon's first (lost) poem, or an account of the education of children in that day, supported by the evidences of that education in Villon's works.¹⁶

As to the later education of Villon, the brief facts known concerning it—that he was received bachelor in March, 1449, and *licencié* on August 26th, 1452—are embellished by a description of the University, its curricula, equipment, life, activities and disturbances, especially that one which was probably the source of the poet's non-extant facetious work, the *Romant du Pet au Deable*, failing which his biographer transcribes for us a contemporary work by another hand which must have resembled it. He notes the traces of his *quinquennium* left upon Villon's work in the shape of classic reminiscence, and discusses the question whether Villon was or was not a *gradué en forme* and a semi-ecclesiastic,¹⁷ his own view subtly supported by Villon's reference to the *maître des testaments* who dealt with wills of the ecclesiastics and also to J. de Calais, who was occupied with the wills of the laity.¹⁸

The life of the clerks and students themselves, with the games and songs, the taverns and women, which enlivened it, is described at length, making clear many of the allusions of Villon.¹⁹ There is a particularly interesting passage upon the identity of "La belle Heaulmiere,"²⁰ not however indisputably established. Others deal with that of "Marion l'Idole"²¹ and of "La Grosse Margot," whom Mr Champion inclines to regard as an authentic person, the occasion of a true and bitter confession in Villon's legacy to her.²² The nightly serenades, brawls and escapades of students and other roysterers form the subject-matter of another section,²³ exactly descriptive of the customs of the time and full of well-authenticated incidents and identifications bearing on the subject-matter of the *Lais* and the *Testament*. Perhaps the best example of M. Champion's method is the long chapter on the Paris of Villon's day,²⁴ recovered from the miseries of the first quarter of the century which had caused Parisians to go into exile, leaving (in 1423) twenty thousand deserted houses mortgaged beyond belief, and had been responsible for the death of fifty thousand souls in 1438. Now, grown rich and prosperous, it suffered from a revolution in moral values, the feudal system, with its honor and loyalties, lost forever, and, in its stead, a king who was an exacting taskmaster as well as a generous paymaster. Money—so ran the

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Chap. II.

¹⁷ Chaps. III and IV.

¹⁸ Vol. I, p. 43.

¹⁹ Chap. V.

²⁰ Vol. I, pp. 94-100.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 111-113.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 102, 105-109.

²³ Chap. V, sec. III.

²⁴ Chap. VIII.

complaints of the day—was the real King. The minute geographical description of the *rive gauche* of Villon's day elucidates many of Villon's allusions and gives point to his irony. Mention of the Tour de Nesle involves a discussion of the sources of the legend of Buridan current in Villon's time, when it was customary among the students, especially those of the College of Navarre, to drink an ironic toast: "Bibamus Regine Blanche vel Navarre qui fecit talia et talia,"—every drinker being at liberty to add to the legend. The description of Notre Dame includes that of the officialité with its *official* and *promoteur*, explaining the savage legacy to François de la Vacquery, *promoteur* in Villon's time; the account of the dark dungeons of the Châtelet brings out all the bitterness of the poet's bequest to them of his "miroir bel et idoine," as research on the subject of the wife of Jean Papin, one of its jailors, may elucidate the satiric force of his "grace de la geoliere," or the description of the Cimetière des Innocents enhance our sense of the melancholy power of Villon's meditations on the dead there. An imaginary walk through the rue Troussevache with its signs explains how the poet came to bequeath *le Mouton, le Bœuf couronné, la Vache* to the butcher Trouvé, and, thanks to Mr Champion's careful researches, the reader may make acquaintance with Trouvé himself. The author's copious references to original sources justify him, in fact, whenever he evokes imaginative pictures of his poet's life, just as the interest of the material he brings to the task disarms the critic who notes how far afield he sometimes goes for that material.

The second volume of the book deals more directly with the actual Life, and gives besides a connected account of the *Lais* and of the *Testament*, analyzing and commenting them.

For the Life M. Champion sticks close to Longnon, adding judicious discussion and illustrating as he proceeds many details of the conditions of existence of the time, as for instance of the vagabondage of the roads.²⁵ He discusses fully Rabelais' two tales of Villon:²⁶ the first, which would have Villon, high in Edward V's favour, deliver to the King a piece of patriotic braggadocio of a broad flavour, fails to stand the touch of historical criticism; the second, which relates an incident of practical revenge upon a Franciscan official, Tappecou, Mr Champion thinks may have some foundation of oral tradition.

The chapters on the *Lais* and on the *Testament* are perhaps the most interesting, as they are the most original, in the book. After acquainting himself with them, especially in connection with matters germane to them scattered throughout the work, the reader will peruse the poems with full understanding and new delight. But it is unfortunate that the connected analysis of these poems leads to a confused sense of repetition, since much that occurs elsewhere in the work here reappears. Mr Champion disarms criticism by making his own excuses,²⁷ but the fact remains that these chapters would gain enormously by a rearrangement which should include in them all the pertinent material which must be looked for in other pages. This defect of arrangement, however, does not detract from the merits of the new and extremely illuminating commentary which forms their subject-matter.

The chapter on the *Testament* includes some pages of judicious criticism which one could wish longer. The author brings out, especially in the matter

²⁵ Chap. XIII.

²⁶ Vol. II, pp. 247-255.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 32, note 1.

of *genre*, Villon's debt to Eustache Deschamps, his independence of Jean de Meung, his spiritual resemblance to Rutebeuf, whose work was probably unknown to him. He points out how little substance there is in Villon's debts to predecessors. When for example the poet borrows from the *Roman de la Rose*, the laments of the old woman who "n'est pas que vieille et se montre fort radoteuse," he creates a poignant masterpiece in ten stanzas, for he had "au moins autant des mots dans son cœur que dans sa tête," and the author draws attention to the real charm of the ballades *Des Dames du temps jadis* and *Des Seigneurs du temps jadis*, neither of them original in idea or in form, which resides in the light and musical rhymes of the one, with its romance of dimly apprehended personalities set off by the two thoroughly familiar historical names of Heloise and Joan of Arc, and in the strong hold on reality of the other, whose every name but two²⁸—thrown by the refrain into the poetic past—is that of a man dead within five years. He brings into relief the sense of reality patent in all Villon's work, "son procédé de concrétiser l'abstrait comme de réaliser les allégories": the legatees, *e. g.*, are real persons, and Mr Champion has identified many of them; the whole *Testament* is a parody—in its form a real will—and all the poems are full of the poet's own life, of his Paris, of his exile. Nor, according to Mr Champion, is his vision of his own heart and conscience any less real: "Rien n'égale en mouvement, en passion, en vérité, en beauté pathétique, cette sorte de grand soliloque qui forme le préambule du *Testament*, et dans lequel Villon maudit l'évêque cruel, célèbre le roi qui l'a délivré, dit son repentir et sa misère, nous parle de la mort et de la volupté, et insulte à nouveau l'évêque qui l'a enfermé." Mr Champion notes the greatness of the art in those real bequests the ballades, "purs joyaux que relient les huitains comme des chaînes d'or," the happy, inevitable choice of word and phrase, the weight and harmony of refrain, the masterly use of well-worn themes.

Mr Champion reminds us of that marked divergence of currents of thought so evident in the *recueils* of the time immediately subsequent to that of Villon; on the one hand the feudal tradition typified in the classic lover, melancholy, loyal, charming, faithful to spring and dews, buds and flowers, consoled by his own song; and on the other the realistic harsh naturalism of the poor youth, the poor clerk crying for substance not shadow, cynically persuaded of the power of money. Villon, who is so emphatically of the latter school, so essentially of the people, is still haunted by the fine language of Alain Chartier, still tinged with the traditions of chivalry. But taking the tradition of female beauty, or of meditation on mortality, as he found them, this poet *par excellence* of the pleasures of love, the poignancy of death, made of them something vital:

Corps féminin, qui tant est tendre,
Poly, souef, si précieux,
Te faudra il ces maux attendre?
Oy, ou tout vif aller es cieulx.

Mr Champion discusses at length the question of the *portée sociale* of the *Testament*. Was it a satire against financiers? How dared Villon write against such powerful persons as are various of his legatees, at a time when libel was vigorously dealt with? He decides the first question in the negative; the poem serves but as a mirror of the times, expressing the general hatred of the poor

²⁸ Vol. II, p. 197.

for the rich, and he thinks that Villon attacks individuals who were for the most part already discredited.

Mr Champion rightly concludes that, whatever may be contributed to the interest or pathos of the *Testament* by the contradictions of Villon's nature and the extraordinary circumstances under which he wrote, its real value lies in a sovereign art, in the enchantments of an imperishable beauty.

There is an extremely interesting chapter on the "legend" of François Villon, which gathered about him almost immediately on the publication of his book in 1489, and would have him a madcap, jester, drinker, cheat, on whom were fastened practical jokes of any provenance,—a legend to which the publication of the *Repues franches* gave point and head, and for which he himself was largely responsible by his wish to be remembered as a good fool,²⁹ "lui qui a écrit les vers les plus cruellement vengeurs, les plus désolés sur le plaisir et la mort, lui qui interrogea si cruellement sa conscience, lui qui a vécu à la peine et qui a dit dans ce portrait plus vrai que toute peinture 'je riz en pleurs.'" Mr Champion adds that, although we can know Villon far better than the immediately following generations which forged the legends, we cannot understand nor forgive him without taking into account, no less than the bitterness of his lot, his remorse and his secure hope of his own salvation.

The book contains an admirable appendix including careful notices—and even genealogical tables—of various legatees, and, like the *Vie de Charles d'Orléans*, it is provided with a good index of proper names (the geographical names in italics). But both books suffer seriously from lack of a bibliography. As a mere source of information on the bibliography of the subject, the lack is more important in the *Charles d'Orléans* than in the *Villon*, where little new matter is introduced; but as a help towards reading the notes it is much needed in both books. To be forced, in the former work, to trace back a reference to "*Proceedings*" from (say) page 293 to page 170, and to find it still "*Proceedings*" is exasperating to a reader with the best will in the world.

Too much praise can hardly be given to the illustrations, drawn for the most part from contemporary manuscripts, monuments and documents.

Apart from the details noted, both the *Vie de Charles d'Orléans* and the *François Villon* are, in their *ensemble*, of a satisfying authority and scholarly completeness upon which the student of the literary and social history of the fifteenth century may in all security rely.

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²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 272.

NOTES AND NEWS

Dr. Manoel de Oliveira Lima of Brazil has been selected as the first occupant of the new chair of Latin-American History and Economy at Harvard University.

Professor Colbert Searles of Leland Stanford University goes to the University of Minnesota as professor of Romance languages. Mr. Roger N. Lagow has accepted an instructorship in Spanish at the same university.

Dr. Arthur Livingston, of Columbia University, has recently been elected "Socio corrispondente estero" of the *Reale Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria*.

Dr. James L. Cattell of the University of Wisconsin has been appointed professor of French at Purdue University.

The editor of the *Bulletino della Società Italiana* will be pleased to receive titles or reprints of all articles on Dante appearing in America, and has asked Mr. Rudolph Altrocchi of Harvard University to be kind enough to forward the same to him.

Dr. W. O. Farnsworth of the department of University Extension of Columbia University has accepted the assistant-professorship in Romance languages and the direction of the department at the University of Pittsburg.

Associate-professor Magdeleine Carret of Wellesley College has been appointed instructor in French at Barnard College and secretary of the *Maison Française* at Columbia University.

Assistant-professor Régis Michaud of Princeton University has been appointed associate-professor of French at Smith College. Professor George Underwood of Kenyon College becomes instructor in Romance languages at Smith. He has been succeeded at Kenyon College by Professor G. La Fayette Cram.

On July 4, 1914, occurred the death, in the 66th year of his age, of Hermann Suchier, since 1876 professor of Romance philology in the University of Halle. In 1878 Professor Suchier published his first edition of *Aucassin et Nicolette*, and in 1879 he began the publication of the *Bibliotheca normannica*. A few of the later landmarks of his productivity are *Altprovenzalische Denkmale* (1883), *Die französische und provenzalische Sprache* in Gröber's *Grundriss* (separately published in French in 1891), the admirable and richly illustrated *Geschichte der französischen litteratur von der Urzeit bis zum 16. Jahrhundert*, of which a second edition appeared in 1913, and *la Chanson de Guillaume* (1911), reviewed in the present number of the *ROMANIC REVIEW*.

Alessandro D'Ancona, Senator of the Kingdom of Italy, and widely known throughout the learned world as an authority on the history of Italian literature, died on November 8. He was born in 1835 and for fifty years had been a professor in the university of his native city. Among his important works may be mentioned *Scritti danteschi*, *Studi di letteratura popolare*, *Le Origini del teatro in Italia*, and *La Poesia popolare italiana*; and for many years he was editor of the *Rassegna bibliografica della letteratura italiana*.

